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SELECT DOCUMENTS FOR QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN

DOWN TO THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND. 1702–7

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SELECT DOCUMENTS FOR QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN

DOWN TO THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND. 1702–7

SELECTED
AND EDITED BY

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PREFACE

HAVING undertaken to lecture on the first years of Queen Anne's reign as a Special Subject for the Cambridge Historical Tripos, I was at once confronted with the fact that nearly all the contemporary authorities which it would be necessary for students to have in their hands, were either out of print, or were on the point of going out of print. Moreover they were widely scattered in a number of different books. The Cambridge University Press has overcome these difficulties by consenting to issue this book of Select Documents. A few transcripts, hitherto unpublished, from the British Museum MSS have been added.

I have made no selections from Burnet's *History of his own Time*, because it can be found in nearly every College or other Library of any pretension. Moreover, it should be read *in extenso* for the relative period, to obtain a general view of "how it appeared to a contemporary"; it is less valuable for detailed study as an authority for the facts of Queen Anne's reign. When possible it should be read in those nineteenth-century editions which reproduce at the foot of the page the comments of Dartmouth, Hardwicke, Onslow and Swift.

There is, I think, very little in this volume of selections of which the general drift and import will not be clear to any student of the period who has read such excellent introductions to the subject as Leadam's *Political History of England* (Longman), vol. IX, chaps. I–V; Atkinson's *Marlborough* (Heroes of Nations Series); Julian Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, vol. II, chaps. XXVII–XXXII; Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, vol. III, chaps. II and III; and Keith Feiling's *History of the Tory Party*, chaps. XIII–XIV.

The six Sections into which I have divided the documents here printed, naturally keep the domestic history separate from the diplomatic and military-naval operations. But the intimate connection between home and foreign affairs is indicated in Section V, the Marlborough correspondence, which serves as a supplement to Section II (Home Politics) and Section IV (Blenheim).

Both the Marlborough correspondence here printed and the modern works which I have just mentioned make clear the dependence of the successful conduct of the war on the triumph of the "moderate" or "coalition" policy at home. Viewed in that light, the quarrel between Lords and Commons over the Occasional Conformity Bill appears something more than a passing phase of the ceaseless wrangle of Church and Dissent, Tory and Whig. And the departure of Rochester from office in 1703 and of Nottingham in 1704, leaving Marlborough supreme in the State, appears as something more important than an incident in the rivalry of ambitious noblemen. For on these things depended the carrying out of Marlborough's grand schemes of combined naval, military and diplomatic strategy, to wrest back the control of the world from Louis XIV and his grandson the King of Spain, and to restore the independence of the State system of Europe. For Rochester scarcely wished to see the war carried on with vigour anywhere on land, and Nottingham believed that we should concentrate our military efforts on Spain.

So too the Scottish Union, immensely important and beneficial as it proved to be to both countries in the course of succeeding generations, was passed primarily as a war measure. The immediate object in view was to remove the grave possibility of Scotland declaring the Pretender as King on the death of Anne, even if the demise of the crown should occur in the middle of the war with France.

The struggle to reduce "the exorbitant power of France" was involved in the struggle to maintain the Protestant Succession in the person of Anne, and after her, in the House of Hanover designated to the succession by the Act of Settlement of 1701. Louis XIV, by acknowledging the Pretender as King of England on the death of his father James II in September 1701, had made the English dynastic question one of theissues of the war. Another issue was the right of the English merchants to trade with South America, and with the States of the Mediterranean basin which the new Franco-Spanish Alliance was closing to us. A third was the independence and safety of the Low Countries in particular, and of Europe in general, when the French troops were in actual

occupation not only of Spain but of Flanders, Italy and Bavaria. A "universal monarchy" seemed on the very point of being set up.

Indeed when Anne came to the throne in 1702 the situation seemed almost desperate. The independence of Europe seemed already lost, and the independence of England, symbolized by the Protestant Succession, did not seem likely to survive. It was saved by the genius of Marlborough and the good sense displayed by Queen Anne and by the English people. The turning-point in the struggle was Blenheim. That battle saved Vienna and central Europe from falling under French control, and broke the prestige of the French arms. The work was completed two years later when Flanders was reconquered at Ramillies, and Italy at Turin, and when the Treaty of Union with Scotland secured the unity of the island on the basis of the Protestant Succession. Simultaneously, the establishment of English sea power in the Mediterranean, symbolized first by the capture and then by the heroic defence of Gibraltar, was a further proof that the young eighteenth century was destined to be controlled by other forces than a supreme French despotic system.

The credit for effecting this great work of deliverance between 1702 and 1706 rests with the "moderates" of English politics—Anne herself, Harley as Parliamentary manager behind the scenes, Godolphin as paymaster, Marlborough as the great executant. It is perhaps good upon the whole that England should be governed by the alternating supremacy of two rival parties. At least it has been found the line of least resistance for carrying on Parliamentary government in normal times. But there are great exceptional cases, as for instance in the crisis of a dangerous foreign war. And such a case was found in the opening of Anne's reign.

The "moderate" domestic policy of the Marlborough Ministry, bent only on winning the war, had more unqualified support in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons, at least till the general election of 1705. One of the most interesting and most hotly contested constitutional issues of the time was the degree to which the House of Lords could act as a brake upon the House of Commons. In the Lords

parties were evenly balanced, and on several occasions in the reigns of William, Anne and George I, the Lords checked the partisan action of the Lower House which was alternately strong Whig and strong Tory. This restraining action of the House of Lords came into play early in Anne's reign on the question of the Occasional Conformity Bill (Section II below). At any other time the measure might have been passed, as indeed it was passed in 1711. But in 1702–4 it was felt by many who did not disapprove of the principle of the Bill that it was inimical to national unity to do anything to alienate the Dissenters and the city of London at the most dangerous crisis of the war. For that reason the moderate Tories came to join with the Whigs against the strongest provisions of the Bill. And it was in the House of Lords that the "moderates" found their stronghold.

The action of the House of Lords in this and other matters was of great assistance to the Queen and her Ministers early in the reign, when they were endeavouring to lay the restless spirit of faction in order to conduct the war with vigour and success. After the war had been substantially won at the end of the year 1706, the tendency of English Parliamentary life towards the two-party system reasserted itself, and first the Whigs and then the Tories took charge of the later fortunes of Queen Anne. It can hardly be said by the most ardent partisans that either the Whig Ministers of 1708–10 or the Tory Ministers of 1710–14 did so well by the country as the "Marlborough group" between 1702 and 1706.

I acknowledge the kindness of Lord Crawford and of the family of the late Charles Butler in expressing their willingness that I should reprint from the Roxburghe Club text the large quotation from the *Memoirs* of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. I am similarly grateful to the goodwill of Mr Craster and of the *English Historical Review* in the matter of Lord Orkney's Letter on Ramillies; and to the Secretary and Council of the Royal Historical Society in the matter of the Torrington *Memoirs* on the capture of Gibraltar.

[Students will note the difference between the New Style [N.S.] and Old Style [O.S.] of reckoning dates. Until 1752

the English at home always used the Old Style, eleven days behind the New Style of Gregory XIII's Calendar which was current in all continental countries except European Russia. Our soldiers in Flanders and Germany sometimes used the Old Style, more often the New. Our sailors on service at sea, as for instance at the taking of Gibraltar, often used the Old Style familiar at home. The clearest method was to use both, and to say that the battle of Blenheim was won on Aug. 2/13 or Aug. 2–13.]

G. M. TREVELYAN

CONTENTS

SECTION I

FOREIGN TREATIES OF ALLIANCE

Introduction . . . . . *page* 2
Table of the Spanish Succession . . . 4
Treaty of Grand Alliance 5
Treaty with Prussia 10
Treaty with Brunswick-Lüneburg . . 12
Treaty with Portugal 15

SECTION II

HOME POLITICS

Introduction 22
The Case of the Abjuration Oath . . . 23
Occasional Conformity Bill Proceedings in Parliament 24

DANIEL DEFOE

(a) *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity* . 41
(b) *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* . 52
(c) *Explanation of the Shortest Way* . . 55

SWIFT AND ADDISON

Swift: *The Examiner*, No. 36 (1711) . . 58
Swift: *The Examiner*, No. 37 (1711) . . 63
Addison: *The Freeholder* (1715) . . . 69
Addison: *The Spectator* (1711) . . . 74
Budgell: *The Spectator* (1711) . . . 77

SECTION III

GIBRALTAR

Introduction . . . . . *page* 82
Godolphin Papers (B.M. MSS) . . . 82
Torrington's *Memoirs* (Capture of Gibraltar) . 83
British Museum MSS (Defence of Gibraltar) . 92

SECTION IV

BLENHEIM AND RAMILLIES

Introduction 96
Hare's Journal: March to the Danube (B.M. MSS) 96
Marlborough's Despatches 103
Blenheim described by Cardonnell (Ellis MSS, B.M.) 107
Captain Parker on Blenheim . . . 111

Blenheim through French Eyes

Tallard's Apology (1) 118
Tallard's Apology (2) 125
Lettre de M. de 128
Lettre de Montigny-Languet 129

Ramillies

Introduction 133
Captain Parker on Ramillies . . . 134
Lord Orkney on Ramillies 139

Col. Blackader on Blenheim and Ramillies

. 142

SECTION V

MARLBOROUGH PAPERS

Introduction . . . . . *page* 148
Table of Marlborough's relations . . . 149
Marlborough's Correspondence (from Coxe's *Memoirs of Marlborough*) 150
Conduct of the Duchess 198

SECTION VI

SCOTLAND AND THE UNION

Introduction 210
Sir John Clerk's *Memoirs* 211
Lockhart Papers 225
The Treaty of Union 234

LISTS

Queen Anne's Principal Ministers, 1702–7 . 250
Parliaments of Queen Anne's reign . . 251

SKETCH MAPS

Gibraltar, 1704–5 84
Blenheim 108
Ramillies 135

I

FOREIGN TREATIES OF ALLIANCE

SECTION ONE

FOREIGN TREATIES OF ALLIANCE

THE TREATY of Grand Alliance, made in the last year of William III's reign, represents the reply of England, Holland and Austria to the acceptance by Louis XIV of Charles II of Spain's will; that will left the whole Spanish empire to Louis' grandson, Philip V of Spain. It will be observed that the Treaty of Grand Alliance of September 1701 does not bind the allies to recover Spain and Spanish America from Philip, but only to obtain security and compensation for his kingship. The allies bind themselves to secure English trade with Spain, Spanish America, and the Mediterranean; a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and territorial compensation in Italy for Austria, in return for her forgoing her claims to the whole Spanish inheritance. The additional clause, added in May 1703, further binds the allies to force Louis to acknowledge the Protestant Succession in Britain. This clause was rendered necessary when Louis acknowledged the Pretender as King of England a few days after the first draft of the Grand Alliance had been signed. It was Sir Edward Seymour, a leading Tory, who moved to have this vindication of the national honour inserted in the Treaty of Alliance.

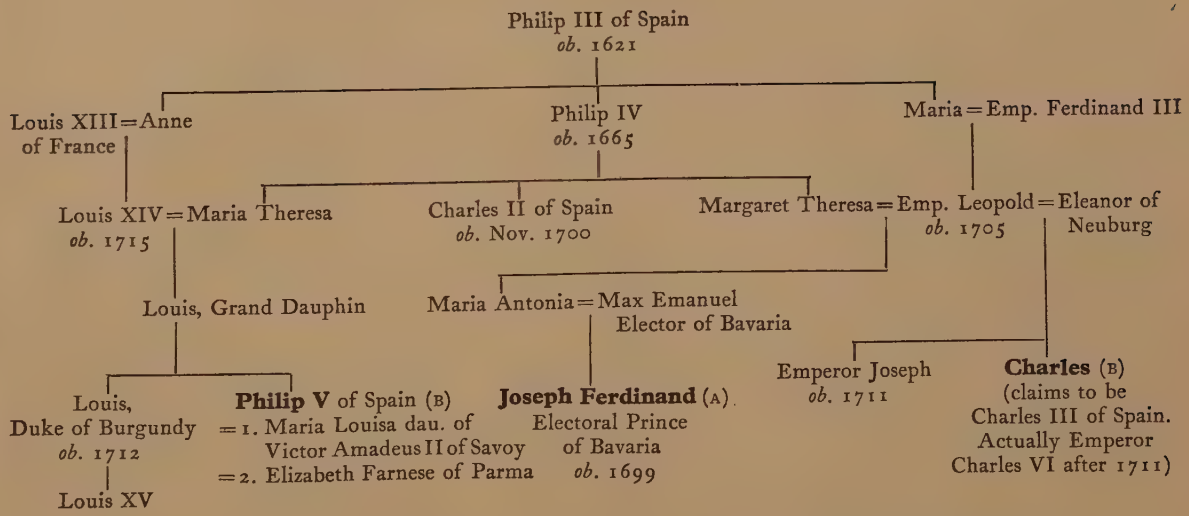
The Treaties with Prussia and Brunswick-Lüneburg are typical of many such treaties with other allied States, particularly in Germany. It was in this way that the English and Dutch Governments paid many of the allies to fight for them. It was in effect the famous "subsidy system" which financed all English alliances against France down to the Napoleonic wars.

The Treaty with Portugal of 1703 is not merely another such "subsidy" treaty. It marks also the opening of a great new theatre of war—the Iberian Peninsula. It represents the effective opening of the Mediterranean basin to our fleets. For without Lisbon as a naval base we could have done nothing in the Mediterranean; we could not even have held

Gibraltar, which we were only able to defend in the siege of 1704–5 because we had Lisbon as a naval base. It will also be observed that this treaty with Portugal alters the basis of the Grand Alliance; it substitutes the attempt to win Spain and Spanish America on behalf of the Austrian candidate "Charles III," for the original basis of the Grand Alliance of two years before, which had been security and compensation for the admitted fact of Philip V's kingship.

In the text of these Treaties I have preserved *the grammar and the spelling* of names and words as they are found in de Lamberty and the *House of Commons Journals* respectively.

TABLE OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION


Philip III of Spain
ob. 1621
Louis XIII = Anne of France
Philip IV
ob. 1665
Maria = Emp. Ferdinand III
Louis XIV = Maria Theresa
ob. 1715
Charles II of Spain
ob. Nov. 1700
Margaret Theresa = Emp. Leopold = Eleanor of Neuburg
ob. 1705
Louis, Grand Dauphin
Maria Antonia = Max Emanuel Elector of Bavaria
Louis, Duke of Burgundy
ob. 1712
Louis XV
Philip V of Spain (B)
= 1. Maria Louisa dau. of Victor Amadeus II of Savoy
= 2. Elizabeth Farnese of Parma
Joseph Ferdinand (A)
Electoral Prince of Bavaria
ob. 1699
Emperor Joseph
ob. 1711
Charles (B)
(claims to be Charles III of Spain. Actually Emperor Charles VI after 1711)

(A) Recognised as heir by Charles II; chief beneficiary of the First Treaty of Partition.

(B) Rival claimants of Spain after Charles II, the elder brother of each resigning his pretensions.

I. *Treaty of Grand Alliance*

7 September 1701

(de Lamberty, *Mémoires*, 1735, I, 620–628.)

D'Autant que le Roi d'Eſpagne CHARLES II. de glorieuſe memoire, étant mort ſans Enfans, Sa Sacrée Majeſté Imperiale a affûré que la Succeſſion des Roiaumes & Provinces du Roi defunt appartiennent legitimement à ſon Auguſte Maiſon, & que le Roi T. C. deſirant avoir la même Succeſſion pour le Duc d'ANJOU ſon Petit-Fils, & alleguant qu'elle lui vient de Droit en vertu d'un certain Teſtament du Roi defunt, il s'eſt d'abord mis en poſſeſſion de tout l'Heritage ou Monarchie d'Eſpagne pour le ſuſdit Duc d'ANJOU, & s'eſt emparé à main armée des Provinces du Païs-Bas Eſpagnol, & du Duché de Milan, & qu'il tient une Flotte dans le Port de Cadix, toute prête à faire voile, & qu'il a envoié pluſieurs Vaiſſeaux de Guerre aux Indes qui ſont ſoûmiſes à l'Eſpagne, & que par ce moien & pluſieurs autres, les Roiaumes de France & d'Eſpagne ſont ſi étroitement unis, qu'il ſemble qu'ils ne doivent plus être regardez à l'avenir, que comme un ſeul & même Roiaume, tellement que ſi on n'y prend garde, il y a bien de l'apparence que Sa Majeſté Imperiale ne doit plus eſperer d'avoir jamais aucune ſatisfaction de ſa pretention; Que l'Empire Romain perdra tous ſes Droits ſur les Fiefs qui ſont en Italie, & dans le Païs-Bas Eſpagnol, de même que les Anglois & Hollandois perdront la liberté de leur Navigation & de leur Commerce dans la Mer Mediterranée, aux Indes, & ailleurs; Et que les Provinces-Unies ſeront privées de la ſûreté qu'elles avoient par l'interpoſition entr'elles & la France des Provinces du Païs-Bas Eſpagnol, appellées communement *la Barriere*; Et qu'enfin les François & les Eſpagnols étant ainſi unis deviendroient en peu de tems ſi formidables qu'ils pourroient aiſement ſoûmettre toute l'Europe à leur obéïſſance & empire. Or comme cette conduite du Roi T. C. a mis Sa Majeſté Imperiale dans la neceſſité d'envoier une Armée en Italie, tant pour la conſervation de ſes Droits particuliers, que pour celle des Fiefs de l'Empire; de même, le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne a jugé qu'il étoit neceſſaire d'envoier ſes Troupes auxiliaires aux Provinces-Unies, dont les Affaires ſont dans le

même état, que ſi on en étoit deja venu à une Guerre ouverte, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux, dont les Frontieres ſont preſque de toutes parts ouvertes, par la rupture de la Barriere qui empêchoit le voiſinage des François, ſont contraints de faire, pour la ſûreté & pour la conſervation de leur Republique, tout ce qu'ils auroient dû & pû faire, s'ils étoient effectivement attaquez par une Guerre ouverte. Et comme un état ſi douteux & ſi incertain en toutes choſes, eſt plus dangereux que la Guerre même, & que la France & l'Eſpagne s'en prevalent pour s'unir de plus en plus, afin d'opprimer la Liberté de l'Europe, & ruïner le Commerce accoûtumé; Toutes ces raiſons ont porté Sa Sacrée Majeſté Imperiale, Sa Sacrée Roiale Majeſté de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Hauts & Puiſſans Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies, d'aller au devant de tous les maux qui en proviendroient; & deſirant d'y apporter remede ſelon leurs forces, ils ont jugé qu'il étoit neceſſaire de faire entr'eux une étroite Alliance & Confederation pour éloigner le grand & commun danger. Pour cet effet ils ont donné leurs Ordres & Inſtructions.

* * * * * *

1. Qu'il y ait dès à preſent & à l'avenir, une conſtante, perpetuelle, & inviolable Amitié, entre Sa Sacrée Majeſté Imperiale, Sa Sacrée Roiale Majeſté de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies, & qu'ils ſoient tenus reciproquement de procurer ce qui leur ſera avantageux, & d'éloigner ce qui leur ſeroit nuiſible & dommageable.

2. Sa Sacrée Majeſté Imperiale, Sa Sacrée Roiale Majeſté de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies, n'aiant rien tant à cœur que la Paix & la tranquillité de toute l'Europe, ont jugé qu'il ne pouvoit rien y avoir de plus efficace pour l'affermir, que de procurer à Sa Majeſté Imperiale une ſatisfaction juſte & raiſonnable, touchant ſes pretentions à la Succeſſion d'Eſpagne, & que le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux obtiennent une ſûreté particuliere & ſuffiſante, pour leurs Roiaumes, Provinces, Terres, & Païs de leur obéïſſance, & pour la Navigation & le Commerce de leurs Sujets.

3. Pour cet effet les Alliez mettront premierement en uſage tous les moiens poſſibles, & tout ce qui dependra d'eux, pour obtenir amiablement, & par une Tranſaction ferme & ſolide, une ſatisfaction juſte & raiſonnable pour Sa Majeſté Imperiale, au ſujet de ladite Succeſſion, & la ſûreté dont il a été fait mention ci-deſſus, pour Sa Majeſté Britannique, & pour les Seigneurs Etats des Provinces-Unies; Et à cette fin, ils emploieront tous leurs ſoins & offices pendant deux mois, à compter du jour de l'échange des Ratifications de ce preſent Traité.

4. Mais ſi dans ce tems-là les Alliez viennent à être fruſtrez de leur eſperance & de leurs deſirs, tellement que l'on ne puiſſe pas tranſiger dans le terme fixé, en ce cas ils promettent & s'engagent reciproquement de s'aider de toutes leurs forces, ſelon ce qui ſera reglé par une convention particuliere, pour obtenir la ſatisfaction & ſûreté ſuſdite.

5. Et afin de procurer cette ſatisfaction & cette ſûreté, les Alliez feront entr'autres choſes leurs plus grands efforts pour reprendre & conquerir les Provinces du Païs-Bas Eſpagnol, dans l'intention qu'elles ſervent de Digue, de Rempart, & de Barriere pour ſeparer & éloigner la France des Provinces-Unies, comme par le paſſé, leſdites Provinces du Païs-Bas Eſpagnol aiant fait la ſûreté des Seigneurs Etats Generaux juſques à ce que depuis peu Sa Majeſté Très-Chrêtienne s'en eſt emparée, & les a fait occuper par ſes Troupes. Pareillement les Alliez feront tous les efforts pour conquerir le Duché de Milan avec toutes ſes dependances, comme étant un Fief de l'Empire ſervant pour la ſûreté des Provinces Hereditaires de Sa Majeſté Imperiale, & pour conquerir les Roiaumes de Naples & de Sicile, & les Iſles de la Mer Mediterranée, avec les Terres dependantes de l'Eſpagne le long de la Côte de Toſcane, qui peuvent ſervir à la même fin & être utiles pour la Navigation & le Commerce des Sujets de Sa Majeſté Britannique & des Provinces-Unies.

6. Pourront le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux, conquerir à force d'Armes, ſelon qu'ils auront concerté entr'eux, pour l'utilité & la commodité de la Navigation & du Commerce de leurs Sujets, les Païs & les Villes que les Eſpagnols ont dans les Indes, & tout ce qu'ils pourront y prendre ſera pour eux, & leur demeurera.

7. Que ſi les Alliez ſe trouvent obligez à entrer en Guerre pour obtenir ladite ſatisfaction à S. M. Imperiale, & ladite ſûreté à Sa Majeſté Britannique, & aux Seigneurs Etats Generaux, ils ſe communiqueront fidellement les avis & reſolutions des Conſeils qui ſe tiendront pour toutes les entrepriſes de Guerre, ou expeditions militaires, & generalement tout ce qui concernera cette affaire commune.

8. La Guerre étant une fois commencée, aucun des Alliez ne pourra traiter de Paix avec l'Ennemi, ſi ce n'eſt conjointement avec la participation & le conſeil des autres Parties. Et ladite Paix ne pourra être concluë, ſans avoir obtenu pour Sa Majeſté Imperiale une ſatisfaction juſte & raiſonnable; & pour le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & les Seigneurs Etats Generaux la ſûreté particuliere de leurs Roiaumes, Provinces, Terres, & Païs de leur obéïſſance, Navigation & Commerce; ni ſans avoir pris auparavant de juſtes meſures, pour empêcher que les Roiaumes de France & d'Eſpagne, ſoient jamais unis ſous un même Empire, ou qu'un ſeul & même Roi en devint le Souverain; & ſpecialement que jamais les François ſe rendent maîtres des Indes Eſpagnoles, ou qu'ils y envoient des Vaiſſeaux pour y exercer le Commerce, directement ou indirectement, ſous quelque pretexte que ce ſoit. Enfin ladite Paix ne pourra être concluë ſans avoir obtenu pour les Sujets de Sa Majeſté Britannique & pour ceux des Provinces-Unies, une pleine & entiere faculté, uſage & jouïſſance de tous les mêmes Privileges, Droits, Immunitez, & Libertez de Commerce tant par Terre que par Mer, en Eſpagne & ſur la Mer Mediterranée, dont ils uſoient & jouïſſoient pendant la vie du feu Roi d'Eſpagne dans tous les Païs qu'il poſſedoit tant en Europe qu'ailleurs, & dont ils pouvoient de Droit uſer & jouir en commun ou en particulier, par les Traitez, Conventions, & Coûtumes, ou de quelque autre maniere que ce puiſſe être.

9. Lors que ladite Tranſaction, ou Traité de Paix ſe fera, les Alliez conviendront entr'eux de tout ce qui ſera neceſſaire pour établir le Commerce & la Navigation des Sujets de Sa Majeſté Britannique, & des Seigneurs Etats Generaux, dans les Païs & lieux que l'on doit acquerir, & que le feu Roi d'Eſpagne poſſedoit. Ils conviendront pareillement des moiens

propres à mettre en ſûreté les Seigneurs Etats Generaux par la Barriere ſuſmentionnée.

10. Et d'autant qu'il pourroit naître quelque controverſe au ſujet de la Religion dans les lieux que les Alliez eſperent de conquerir, ils conviendront entr'eux de ſon exercice, au tems ſuſdit de la Paix.

11. Les Alliez ſeront obligez de s'entr'aider & ſecourir de toutes leurs forces, au cas que le Roi de France, ou quelque autre que ce ſoit, vint à attaquer l'un d'entr'eux à cauſe du preſent Traité.

12. Soit que l'on puiſſe maintenant tranſiger ſur ladite ſatisfaction & ſûreté, ou ſoit que la Paix ſe faſſe après que l'on aura entrepris une Guerre neceſſaire, il y aura & demeurera toûjours entre les Parties contractantes une Alliance defenſive, pour la Garantie de ladite Tranſaction, ou de ladite Paix.

13. Tous les Rois, Princes, & Etats, qui ont la Paix à cœur, & qui voudront entrer dans la preſente Alliance, y ſeront admis. Et parce qu'il eſt particulierement de l'interêt du Saint Empire Romain, de conſerver la Paix publique, & qu'il s'agit ici entr'autres choſes de recouvrer les Fiefs de l'Empire, on invitera ſpecialement ledit Empire d'entrer dans la preſente Alliance. Outre quoi tous les Alliez enſemble, & chacun d'eux en particulier, pourront y inviter ceux qu'ils verront bon être.

14. Ce Traité d'Alliance & Confederation ſera ratifié par tous les Alliez dans l'eſpace de ſix ſemaines, & plûtôt ſi faire ſe peut.

En foi de quoi, nous Plenipotentiaires ſuſnommez avons ſigné le preſent Traité de nos mains, & l'avons muni de nos Sceaux & Cachets. A la Haie le ſeptieme du mois de Septembre de l'an mil ſept cens un.

Etoit ſigné en chacun des Inſtrumens ſeparez; ſçavoir, de la part de Sa Majeſté Imperiale, *Pierre Comte de Goës*; & *Jean Wenceſlaus Comte de Wratiſlau & Mitrowitz.* De la part de Sa Majeſté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, *Marlborough.* Et de la part des Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies, *D. Eck van Panteleon, Hr. van Gent. F. B. van Rheede. A. Heynſius. W. de Naſſau. E. de Weede. W. van Haren. B. J. van Welvelde. W. Wickers.*

Additional article of the Grand Alliance— "Vienna clause"

(Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, IX, 500.)

16 May 1703

PUISQUE depuis que le traité entre Sa Majesté Imperiale, Sa Majesté Britannique et Mss. les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas fut conclu et signé à La Haye, le 7 septembre 1701, le Roy de France s'est resolu de reconnoistre et proclamer le pretendu Prince de Galles pour Roy d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande, et que par là il a fait un grand tort à Sa dite Majesté Britannique et à toute la nation anglaise, les dits Hauts Alliez, Sa Majesté Imperiale, Sa Majesté Britannique, et Mss. les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas sont convenus par cet article (qui aura la même force, nature et effect comme s'il avoit été inséré dès le commencement dans le dit traité) qu'on ne fera point de paix avec la France avant que réparation ne soit faite à Sa Majesté Britannique du dit très grand tort.

II. *Treaty with Prussia*, December 1701

(de Lamberty, *Mémoires*, 1735, I, 710.)

COMME Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe a offert à Sa Majeſté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & à Leurs Hautes Puiſſances les Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies, de leur remettre un corps de cinq mille hommes de bonnes & vieilles Troupes, & cette offre aiant été bien reçûë, on eſt convenu de part & d'autre des conditions ſuivantes:

I. Le Corps conſiſtera en deux Regimens de Cavalerie, faiſant enſemble, avec l'Etat Major & primes planes, 874. hommes, & en cinq Regimens d'Infanterie, chacun de douze Compagnies, faiſant enſemble avec l'Etat Major, & primes planes 4255. hommes; & le total en Cavalerie & Infanterie 5129. hommes.

II. Les Troupes ſeront bien habillées & bien armées, & la Cavalerie ſera fournie de bon chevaux; & Elles ſeront en tout traitées & paiées ſur le pied que l'Etat traite les ſiennes propres.

III. Leſdites Troupes ſeront paiées, moitié de la part de Sa Majeſté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & l'autre moitié de celle de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances. Ce paiement ſera auſſi prompt & ſur le pied des Troupes de Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe, qui ont été au ſervice de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances durant la derniere Guerre.

IV. On fera paier à ce Corps un mois de gage pour ſon tranſport, dès qu'il ſe mettra effectivement en marche.

V. Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe fera ſortir des quartiers, & mettre en marche, ledit Corps de Troupes, quinze jours après la ſignature de ce Traité, & plûtôt s'il eſt poſſible.

VI. La ſolde de ces Troupes ne commencera que du jour qu'elles ſeront entrées dans les limites des Etats de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances. C'eſt alors qu'on en fera la revûë par les Commiſſaires de Sa Majeſté Britannique & de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances & que leſdites Troupes prêteront ſerment au Roi de la Grande-Bretagne & à l'Etat.

VII. A l'égard des revûës deſdites Troupes on en uſera ſur le pied que Leurs Hautes Puiſſances feront avec les leurs propres. Et d'ailleurs on laiſſera de part & d'autre auxdites Troupes la liberté de faire leurs recruës, où il leur ſera le plus convenable, auſſi-bien dans les Etats de Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe que dans ceux de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances.

VIII. En tems de Guerre on fera paier à ces mêmes Troupes en argent pour chariots & autres équipages, ce qu'on paie de la part de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances à leurs propres Troupes; & au reſte on traitera leſdites Troupes en tout également à ce qui ſe pratique envers celles de Leurs Hautes Puiſſances.

IX. Au cas qu'après un Accommodement ou Paix faite avec les Couronnes de France & d'Eſpagne, Sa Majeſté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, & Leurs Hautes Puiſſances veuillent renvoier ledit Corps de Troupes, Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe ſera avertie deux mois avant qu'il ſe mette en marche pour s'en retourner.

X. Si Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe venoit à être attaquée dans ſes propres Etats, éloignez du Rhin, & ſeroit obligé de redemander là-deſſus leſdites Troupes, on les lui renvoiera inceſſamment, ſans aucune contradiction.

XI. Quand Sa Majeſté de la Grande-Bretagne & Leurs Hautes Puiſſances renvoieront ledit Corps de Troupes, en ce cas, il lui ſera paié un mois de gage pour le retour & tranſport; mais au cas que Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe le rapelle, on ne lui paiera que le reſte du mois de gage, dans lequel le apel ſe fait.

XII. Au cas de rapel ou de renvoi de ces Troupes, Sa Majeſté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne & Leurs Hautes Puiſſances ne paieront ni remplaceront point les ſimples Soldats qui pourroient alors y manquer; & ce ſera aux Officiers dudit Corps d'en repondre à Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe.

XIII. Audit cas de renvoi ou de rapel deſdites Troupes, ce qui ſe trouvera alors leur être dû, ſera paié promptement & autant qu'il ſera poſſible, avant qu'elles ſe mettent en marche pour leur retour.

XIV. La preſente Convention ſera ratifiée, & les Ratifications ſeront échangées de part & d'autre dans l'eſpace de ſix ſemaines à compter du jour de la ſignature.

III. *Treaty with Brunswick Lüneburg*
November 1703

A Copy of the Treaty for Troops of *Lunebourg*, for the Year 1704. (*H. of C. Journals*, XIV, 222.)

LA Convention, conclu entre ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, et leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime de Brunſwic Lunebourg, le 16me du Mois de Novembre, 1702, pour un Secours de Dix mille Hommes, allant expirer, on eſt convenu de part et d'autre de la Continuation du dit Traité pour toute l'Année prochaine, aux Conditions ſuivants:

I

Sa Majeſté continuera à faire payer et entretenir les Troupes de leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime, qui reſtent dans ſon Service pour l'Année prochaine 1704, a raiſon, de Sept cent Chevaux, en deux Regiments de Cavallerie, et de Huit mille Cinq cent Vingt et cinq Fantaſſins, en onze

Regiments d'Infanterie, ſelon l'Etat cy joint, ſur le Pied des Troupes, que leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime ont aus Service des Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies, tant pour les Gages ordinaires, que pour les Emolumens Extraordinaires, ce qui fera, par un long Mois de Six Semaines, ou de quarante deux Jours (y compris les Mille et Cinquante Florins, que ſa Majeſté donne par Mois pour le Frais des Hopitaux ſuivant le ſuſdit Etat joint à cette Convention) la Somme de Cent nonante et deux mille Sept cent ſoixante et deux Francs Quatre Sols Monoye d'Hollande; qui ſera payée à Rotterdam regulierement de quinze Jours en quinze Jours. Et comme le Payement, reglé par la premiere Convention cy deſſus alleguê, finit avec cette Année ſelon le nouveau Stile, le Payement de cette nouvelle Convention commencera avec le premier Jour de l'Année prochaine 1704, et continuera à couler juſqu'au dernier; et ces Troupes jouiront auſſi dans tout le reſte, ſans Exception, des memes Avantages, Benefices, Douceurs, et Comodités, que l'Etat donne à ſes propres Troupes.

2

Sa Majeſté ne payant le Cavallerie, ſuivant l'Article 4me, que ſur le Pied de deux Regiments de Sept cent Chevaux, non obſtant qu'il y en a un beaucoup plus grand Nombre, qui ne paſſe dans le Paye que pour de l'Infanterie, on eſt convenu de part et d'autre, que leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime pourront, quand il leur plaira, changer contre de l'Infanterie, ce qu'il y a en Cavallerie dans ce Corps au deſſus des dits deux Regiments qui font les Sept cent Chavaux enſemble. Et on ne ſeparera point le corps de ces Troupes en Campagne, pour ſervir en diverſes Armées; ni on ne les logera, ni ne les mettra en Garniſon non plus dans la Flandre, ou autre Lieux Maritimes.

3

Leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime ſe reſervant la Liberté de retirer ces Troupes, ou toutes ou en partie, en cas qu'ils ſeront attaques, ou dans un Danger evident de l'eſtre, dans les Etats qu'ils poſſedent: Et ſa Majeſté conſent à cette Reſervation; et, pour faciliter leur Retraite dans des Cas

ſemblables, on les aloignera le moins qu'il ſera poſſible du Bas Rhin.

4

Les Deſerteurs pourront étre reclamés reciproquement, et ſeront rendus de bonne foy, ſans aucune Reſtitution de Frais ou Depenſes. Et comme il arrive ſouvent, qu'on diſpute, ſi les Gens reclamés peuvent etre reputés Deſerteurs, ou non, on n'aura pour cela beſoin d'autres Preuves ou Forme de Procés, que de trouver ces Sortes des Gens dans d'autres Corps, ſans Congé par ecrit de leurs Commandants.

5

Cette Convention n'etant faite que pour la ſeule Année prochaine, on travaillera de bonne heure à ſa Prolongation; mais ſi cela n'arrivoit pas, les Troupes ſeront renvoyées au 15 Novembre, ſans rien retrancher de l'Entretien ſtipulé pour toute l'Année par la premier Article, à fin que ce qui en reſte puiſſe ſervir pour les Frais de leur Marche pour retourner; et pour cela la Reine fera payer content le dit reſte avant leur depart.

6

Les Ratifications de la preſente Convention ſeront echangées en quatre Semaines, au plutot, s'il ſe peut. Fait et ſigné par le Duc de Marlborough, Ambaſſadeur Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiaire, &c. de ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, à Londres ce $\frac{9}{20}$ Novembre, 1703, et par le Baron de Bothmer, Plenipotentiaire de leurs Alteſſes Electorale et Sereniſſime à la Haye.

(L. S.) LE DUC DE MARLBOROUGH

IV. *Treaty with Portugal*

1703

The Tranſlation of the Treaty of an Offenſive Alliance, concluded between the Emperor, the Queen, and the States General, on one Side, and the King of *Portugal* on the other, at *Liſbon*, *May* the 16th, 1703. (*H. of C. Journals*, XIV, 224.)

1ſt Article

THE Three Confederate Potentates above-mentioned ſhall contribute their Endeavours unanimouſly, that the moſt Serene Archduke *Charles*, Second Son of his Imperial Majeſty, be put into the Poſſeſſion of all *Spain*, as the Catholick King, *Charles* the Second, did poſſeſs it; with this however, that his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* be not bound to make an Offenſive War, except in *Spain* itſelf.

2

For making this Offenſive War in *Spain*, his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall not be bound to have and maintain, at his own Charge, above Twelve thouſand Foot, and Three thouſand Horſe, which he is to bring into the Field.

3

Beſides, his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall raiſe Thirteen thouſand *Portugueſe* Soldiers, that, in the Whole, the Forces of *Portugal* may be Twenty-eight thouſand Men; whereof Five thouſand ſhall be Horſe, and Twenty-three thouſand Foot.

4

Of theſe 13,000 Soldiers, *viz.* Eleven thouſand Foot, Two thouſand Horſe, thoſe 11,000 Foot ſhall be armed with proper Arms, which, for that Purpoſe, the Confederates are to furniſh, and over and above, as an Addition, Two thouſand Arms for thoſe Soldiers.

5

The Confederates ſhall be bound to give to his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* Ten hundred Thouſand Silver *Philips*, *Spaniſh* Money, or, as commonly called, a Million of Pattacoons each Year while the War laſts, for the Charge of the ſaid 13,000 Soldiers, as well for their Pay, as for all other Expences, whereof they ſhall ſtand in need, as well in Quarters as in the Field.

6

The Payment of theſe Ten hundred thouſand Silver *Philips*, *Spaniſh* Money, or, as commonly called, a Million of Pattacoons, ſhall be made by equal Parts, deviſed through all the Months of the Year; *viz.* that Part which relates to the Pay of the 13,000 Men, ſhall begin from the Exchange of the Ratifications, in Proportion to the Number of Men which ſhall then be raiſed, and as they ſhall afterwards be raiſed; but as to that Part of this Million, which belongs to the extraordinary Expences of the Army, marched out of their Quarters, the Payment thereof ſhall begin from the Day the Forces ſhall march out of their Quarters: But it is agreed, that, for the Payment of the firſt Part of this Million, there ſhall be always ready at *Liſbon* Two Months Pay; and, for the Payment of the Second Part of this Million, as ſoon as the Army ſhall march out of their Quarters, Two Months Pay ſhall be advanced; which ſhall not be placed to Account, unleſs for the Two laſt Months of the Year.

7

But if it ſhall happen, that his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall not have raiſed all the ſaid 13,000 Soldiers, there ſhall be deducted out of this Million of Pattacoons, that Part of the Pay, which [may*] belong to that Number of Soldiers who ſhall [not*] effectively be raiſed.

8

Beſides the ſaid 1,000,000 Silver *Philips*, *Spaniſh* Money, or Million of Pattacoons, which the Confederates are to give every Year for the Payment of the 13,000 *Portugueſe* Soldiers,

* This Word is ſupplied from the Tranſlation of this Treaty, preſented to the Houſe.

as aboveſaid, they ſhall be bound further to give to his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* Five hundred thouſand Silver *Philips*, or Five hundred thouſand Pattacoons, for his Preparations of the Army, and what elſe is neceſſary this Firſt Year; and they ſhall deliver this Sum of Money at the Time of the Ratification of this Treaty.

9

The Confederates ſhall furniſh, and ſhall always have ready every Year, during the War, Twelve thouſand foreign Veteran Soldiers, *viz.* Ten thouſand Foot, One thouſand Horſe, and One thouſand Dragoons; which Twelve thouſand Soldiers they ſhall not only recruit from time to time, at their own Expence, as it ſhall be neceſſary, but they ſhall alſo arm and pay them, with their own Money, what ſhall be needful for them, both for their Pay, whether in their Quarters or out of them, and alſo for the Ammunition Bread for the Soldiers, Straw and Barley for the Horſes; which Bread, Straw, and Barley, ſhall be furniſhed to them at the ſame Prices as they are to his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal*'s Arms, and that by the Miniſtry and Care of his General, Queſtors, and Officers; ſo that his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall not be at any Charge at all for the ſaid foreign Forces, nor furniſh them any Thing, except Hoſpitals and Carriages, and what belongs to the Hoſpitals and Carriages.

10

His royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall furniſh Two thouſand Horſes in *Portugal*, to be bought by the Confederates for their foreign Forces, in ſuch Manner, that for each Horſe to the private Soldiers they ſhall pay 40,000 Rials, *Portugueſe* Money, or as they are called, Forty Millrees, and, for the Officers Horſes, 60,000 Rials of the ſame Money, or Sixty Millrees; at which Prices the ſaid King ſhall furniſh all the other Horſes which the Confederates ſhall deſire, according to what the Kingdom ſhall be able to do for the augmenting of the Horſe.

* * * * * *

17

The Maritime Potentates ſhall be bound to have, and maintain, on the maritime Coaſt of *Portugal*, and in the Havens thereof, a competent Number of Ships of War for defending ſafely the Coaſt and Havens, and alſo the Trade and Fleets of Merchant Ships, againſt any hoſtile Force; ſo as that it being found, or even underſtood, that the Havens themſelves, and the ſaid Fleets, may be invaded by a greater hoſtile Force, the ſaid Confederates ſhall be bound, before the Caſe of that Invaſion happens, to ſend into *Portugal* that Number of Ships of War, which may be equal, and even ſuperior, to the Ships and Forces of the Enemies, who ſhall deſign to invade the Havens and Fleets aforeſaid. Againſt any ſudden Accidents that may happen, upon the Departure of the Ships of the ſaid Confederates from the Coaſt and Havens of *Portugal*, the Confederates ſhall be bound to order it ſo, that in theſe Seas, or in theſe Havens, thoſe Ships remain, whereof his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall judge that there is need.

* * * * * *

21

Neither Peace, nor Truce, ſhall be made, but by mutual Conſent of all the Confederates; and they ſhall not be made at any time while the moſt Chriſtian King's Grandſon, the Dauphin's ſecond Son, or any other Prince of the Houſe of *France*, remains in *Spain*; nor yet, unleſs that the Crown of *Portugal* do intirely poſſeſs, and reign over, all Lands, Kingdoms, Iſlands, States, Dominions, Caſtles, Towns, Villages, and their Territories and Appurtenances, which it now poſſeſſes, as well in, as out of, *Spain*.

22

In the ſame Manner Peace ſhall not be made with the moſt Chriſtian King, unleſs he yield all the Right which he pretends to have unto the Countries reaching to *Cape de Norte*, and appertaining to the Dominion of the State of *Maranon*, and lying between the River of the *Amazons* and that of *Vincent Pinſon*, notwithſtanding any Treaty, either pro-

viſional or deciſive, made between his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal*, and the moſt Chriſtian King, about the Poſſeſſion and Right of the ſaid Countries.

* * * * * *

24

The moſt ſerene Archduke *Charles* ſhall come hither into *Portugal*, and ſhall land in it with all the Succours, which the Confederates are to ſend, as is covenanted in this Treaty; and his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall not be bound to make War, till the moſt ſerene Archduke be landed in *Portugal*, and the Succours, both of Men and Ships, are arrived there.

25

But, as ſoon as the moſt ſerene Archduke ſhall be come into *Portugal*, his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall acknowledge him, and own him, for King of *Spain*, as the King *Charles* the Second did poſſeſs it; yet ſo, that it do before juridically appear to his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal*, that the Right whereby he is King of *Spain*, is in a legal Manner yielded and transferred to him.

26

At the ſame time that his ſacred royal Majeſty of *Portugal* ſhall make War, the maritime Potentates ſhall be bound to invade the Coaſt of *Spain* with a ſtrong Fleet, and to infeſt it as they are able; that the Enemies Forces may be divided, and ſo the Sum of the Expedition be rendered more eaſy.

27

For the ſame Reaſons, the Confederates ſhall be bound vigorouſly to make War, as well in the *Low Countries* and the Upper *Rhine*, as in *Italy*, at the ſame time that *Portugal* ſhall carry its Arms into *Spain*; and this ſhall thenceforth be continued in the ſame Manner, during the other Years, while the War ſhall laſt.

II

HOME POLITICS

SECTION TWO

HOME POLITICS

I. *The Abjuration Oath*

THE action of Louis XIV in acknowledging the Old Pretender as King of England, on his father James II's death in September 1701, contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick four years before, aroused the indignation of all parties in England except the extreme Jacobites. It caused the passage of an Act in the last days of William's reign, requiring Members of both Houses of Parliament, office-holders and clergymen to take an oath abjuring the claims of the Pretender. Hitherto it had been possible to swear allegiance to William without stating whether he was regarded by the swearer as King *de jure* or only *de facto*. By the terms of the new Oath of Abjuration this was no longer possible. Therefore at the beginning of Anne's reign the extreme High Churchmen and High Tories were vexed by being required to make a more unequivocal declaration of Revolution principles under Anne than had been required of them under William. The new oath probably retarded the reconciliation of some of the Non-juring clergymen to the Established Church, and somewhat reduced the satisfaction of the High Tories in the accession of James II's daughter to the throne. The pamphlet here quoted from is an argument directed to such hesitating persons, as to the legitimacy of taking the new oath.

THE CASE OF THE Abjuration Oath,

Endeavoured to be cleared to the Satisfaction of thoſe who are Required to take it.

Q. GOOD morrow Sir, I was deſired by a Kinſman of mine, of a certain *Houſe* you know, to enquire (underhand as it were) whether you intended to take the *Abjuration-Oath*, or no: and I am glad I have met you, to know your mind in that matter.

* * * * * *

A. . . . And ſince I now ſpeak to a Man, who believes the P. P. of *Wales* to be the only Son of the late King *James*, and yet *has* taken the Oath of Allegiance to the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and *will* to her Preſent Majeſty— I deſire to know upon what grounds he can do this, which will not alſo bear the excluding the P. P. of *Wales*, for ever? If the Parliament had Power to ſet by the Right and Title of the P. P. of *Wales*, during the Government of King *William*, and of Her *preſent Majeſty*, why not for twenty Reigns longer, why not for ever? But you your ſelf have acknowledged this Power, by ſubmitting, and ſwearing Allegiance twice, to the defeating the Right and Title (as you believe) of the P. P. why may you not do ſo, if you ſhould live a hundred years longer? If you are ſatisfied with what you have already done, why may you not continue to do the like.

Q. Why, being told by Learned Men, and Learned Books, that the Laws of the Land requir'd, and would bear out, the Subjects taking the Oath of Allegiance to a King Elected, Crown'd, and Acknowledg'd King by the States of the Realm,

I have done it hitherto with a very honeſt mind, without diſclaiming any ones Right or Title, which I am now requir'd to do; which is a new thing, and therefore is ſomething more than I have been doing all this while.

A. 'Tis *ſaying* ſomething more, but *doing* the ſame: You have, for 13 Years paſt, excluded, defeated, renounc'd, and refus'd, the Right of King *James* to your Allegiance and Obedience, becauſe you have actually transferr'd them to another Perſon; and when he has by Declaration reclaim'd you as a Subject, you attended not to him, but told him you owed him no Service or Allegiance, but were the true Subject of the King in *Poſſeſſion*. Was this to own his Right and Title? Doubtleſs he thought not ſo himſelf. I ſpeak not thus, to blame you for what you did, for you did what you ought, as a true Subject, to do; but only to ſhew you, that you have actually, virtually, and effectually, and to all Intents and Purpoſes, for 13 Years ſpace, excluded and renounc'd to the Right of King *James*, and of his Son (ſo thought by you,) altho' you have never done it in *Words* and *Form:* . . .

II. *The Occasional Conformity Bill Proceedings*

Printed by Lords February 1702–3

THIS PAMPHLET *was published by Order of the House of Lords. It shows the original text of the Occasional Conformity Bill, as sent up by the Tory House of Commons in December* 1702, *the amendments made by the Lords, those which the Commons accepted, those which they refused to accept, and the arguments used by both sides in the conferences that ensued.*

As agreement could not be reached, the Bill was lost, to the secret satisfaction of the Queen's moderate Tory Ministers, who were anxious to "get on with the war," and to unite the country for that purpose (*see Preface, p. vi, above*).

Die Mercurii, 24 Febr. 1702

IT *is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Aſſembled, That the Bill, Intituled,* An Act for Preventing Occaſional Conformity, *and the Proceedings thereupon, ſhall be forthwith Printed ana Publiſhed.*

Math. Johnſon,
Cleric' Parliamentor'

The Commons Agreement and Diſagreement, to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Bill for Preventing Occaſional Conformity, with the Commons Amendments to the Lords Amendment.

Die Mercurii,
2 Decemb. 1702.

A Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. *Bromley*, and others, who brought up a Bill, Intituled, *An Act for Preventing Occaſional Conformity*; to which they deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.

Hodie prima vice lecta eſt Billa, Intituled, An Act for Preventing Occaſional Conformity.

The Amendments made by the Lords to the Bill for Preventing Occaſional Conformity.

AS nothing is more contrary to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, than Perſecution for Conſcience only; in due Conſideration whereof an Act paſſed in the Firſt Year of the Reign of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary* Intituled, *An Act for Exempting Their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, Diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penal-*

Agreed to by the Commons.

After [*Mary*] add [*of Glorious Memory*]

ties of certain Laws, which Act ought inviolably to be Observed, and Ease given to all Consciences truly Scrupulous; Nevertheless, whereas the Laws do Provide that every Person to be Admitted into any Office or Imployment should be Conformable to the Church, as it is by Law Established, by Enacting, That every such Person, so to be Admitted, should Receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of *England*; Yet several Persons Dissenting from the Church, as it is by Law Established, do joyn with the Members thereof in Receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to Qualifie themselves to Have and Enjoy such Offices and Imployments, and do afterwards Resort to Conventicles or Meetings for the Exercise of Religion in other manner than according to the Liturgy

Disagreed to by the Commons.

After [*Scrupulous*] add [*but*]

Disagreed to by the Commons.

Leave out from [*whereas*] to [*several*]

Disagreed to by the Commons.

Leave out [*such*]

and Practice of the Church of *England*, which is contrary to the Intent and Meaning of the Laws already made: Be it therefore Enacted by the Queens moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That if any Perſon or Perſons after the Firſt Day of *March*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord, One thouſand ſeven hundred and two, either Peers or Commoners, who have or ſhall have any Office or Offices, Civil or Military, or Receive any Pay, Salary, Fee, or Wages, by reaſon of any Patent or Grant from Her Majeſty, or ſhall have any Command or Place of Truſt from or under Her Majeſty, or from any of Her Majeſties Predeceſſors, or by Her or Their Authority, or by Authority derived from

Her or Them, within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or in Her Majeſties Navy, or in the ſeveral Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, or ſhall be Admitted into any Service or Imployment in Her Majeſties Houſhold or Family; Or if any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bayliff, Town Clerk, Common Council Man, or other Perſon bearing any Office of Magiſtracy or Place of Truſt, or other Imployment relating to or concerning the Government of the reſpective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque Ports, and their Members, and other Port Towns within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, who by the Laws are Obliged to Receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church of *England*, ſhall at

Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Leave out from [*Family*] to [*ſhall*]

any time after their Admiſſion into their reſpective Offices or Imployments, or after having ſuch Grant, as aforeſaid, during his or their Continuance in ſuch Office or Offices, Imployment or Imployments, or the Injoyment of any Profit or Advantage from the ſame, ſhall Reſort to or be preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, in any Place within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, at which Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting there ſhall be Five Perſons or more Aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame Houſhold, if it be in any Houſe where there is a Family Inhabiting, or if it be in an Houſe or Place where there is

Agreed to by the Commons.

Leave out [*ſhall*] and read [*knowingly and willingly*]

Agreed to by the Commons with the Amendments following, *viz.*

After [*aforeſaid*] add [*or at any Meeting where the Liturgy is uſed, and where*

1. After the word [*or*] add [*shall knowingly & willingly be present*]

After the word [*any*] add [*such*]

After the word [*Meeting*] leave out [*where*] and insert [*in such house or place, as aforesaid, altho'*]

After [*Liturgy*] leave out [*is*] and insert [*be there*]

After [*used*] leave out [*and where*] and insert [*in case*]

After [*Majesty*] add [*whom God long preserve,* Catherine *the Queen Dowager*]

After [Sophia] add [*or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for*]

After [*be*] add [*there*]

2. To which Addition of the Lords (to the Amendments made by the Commons to the Lords Amendment) as Entred on the other side, the Commons agreed.

Disagreed to by the Commons.

no Family Inhabiting, then where any Five Persons or more are so Assembled, as aforesaid, shall Forfeit the Sum of One hundred Pounds, and Five Pounds for every Day that any such Person or Persons shall continue in the Execution of such Office or Imployment after he or they shall have Resorted to or been present at any such Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting, as aforesaid, to be Recovered by him or them that shall Sue

1. To which Amendments of the Commons (to the Lords Amendment) as Entred on the other side, the Lords Agreed, with the Addition following:

2. After the words [*prayed for*] in the Commons Amendment, add [*in pursuance of an Act Passed in the First Year of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *Intituled,* An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown; *and the Act Passed in the Twelfth and Thirteenth of King* William *the Third, Intituled,* An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.]

Leave out [*One hundred Pounds, and Five Pounds for every Day that such Person or Persons shall continue in the Execution of such Office or Imployment*] and instead thereof insert [*Twenty Pounds, to be divided into Three parts, whereof one Third Part to the Queen, one other to the Poor of the Parish where the Offence shall be*

for the ſame, by any Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information, in any of Her Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, wherein no Eſſoign, Protection or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed, nor more than one Imparlance.

Committed, and one Third Part to the Informer.]

And be it further Enacted, That every Perſon Convicted in any Action to be brought, as aforeſaid, or upon any information, Preſentment or Indictment in any of Her Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, or at the Aſſizes, ſhall be diſabled from thenceforth to hold ſuch Office or Offices, Imployment or Imployments, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reaſon of them, or of any Grant, as aforeſaid, and ſhall be Adjudged incapable to bear any Office or Imployment whatſoever, within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Leave out from [*aforeſaid*] to the end of the Bill.

And add the Clauſes A, B, C, D, E.

Clauſe [*A*] Agreed to by the

Provided always, and be it further En-

[A] *Provided, That no Perſon ſhall ſuffer*

Commons.

acted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon or Perſons who ſhall have been convicted, as aforeſaid, and thereby made Incapable to hold any Office or Imployment, ſhall after ſuch Conviction Conform to the Church of *England* for the Space of One Year, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and Receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper at leaſt Three times in the Year, every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall be Capable of a Grant of any Office or Imployment, or of being Elected into or holding of any the Offices or Imployments aforeſaid.

Clauſe [*B*] Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Provided alſo, and be it Enacted, That every Perſon ſo Convicted, and afterwards Conforming in manner, as aforeſaid, ſhall at the next Term after his Admiſſion into any ſuch Office or Imployment, make Oath in *any Puniſhment for any Offence committed againſt this Act, unleſs Oath be made of ſuch Offence before ſome Judge or Juſtice of the Peace (who is hereby Impowered and Required to take the ſaid Oath) within Ten Days after the ſaid Offence Committed, and unleſs the ſaid Offender be Proſecuted for the ſame within Three Months after the ſaid Offence Committed; nor ſhall any Perſon be Convicted for any ſuch Offence, unleſs upon the Oath of Two Credible Witneſſes at the leaſt.*

[B] *Provided always, and be it Enacted, That from and after the ſaid Firſt Day of* March, *no Proteſtant Diſſenter ſhall be Compelled or Compellable to take, ſerve, hold or bear any Office or Place whatſoever, for the Taking, Serving or Holding whereof he cannot be duly Qualified by Law, without Receiving the Holy Sacrament according to the Uſage of the*

Writing in any of Her Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, in Publick and Open Court, between the Hours of Nine of the Clock and Twelve in the Forenoon, or at the next Quarter Seſſions for that County or Place where he ſhall reſide, That he has Conformed to the Church of *England* for the Space of One Year before ſuch his Admiſſion, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, Aſſembly or Meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he has Received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper at leaſt Three times in the Year, which Oath ſhall be there Inrolled and kept upon Record.

Clauſe [*C*] Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Provided alſo, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon after ſuch his Admiſſion, as aforeſaid, into any Office or Imployment, ſhall a ſecond time Offend, in manner aforeſaid, and ſhall be thereof Lawfully Convicted,

Clauſe [*D*] Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Church of England, *and alſo Making and Subſcribing the Declaration mentioned in the Statute, made* 25 Car. 2. *Intituled,* An Act for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, *any Statute, Law, Uſage, or other thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

[C] *Provided nevertheleſs, That this Act ſhall not extend to the Univerſity Churches in the Univerſities of this Realm, or either of them, when, or at ſuch times as any Sermon or Lecture is Preached or Read in the ſame Churches, or any of them, for, or as the Publick Univerſity Sermon or Lecture, but that the ſame Sermons and Lectures may be Preached or Read, in ſuch ſort or manner, as the ſame have been heretofore Preached or Read; This Act, or any thing therein contained to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

[D] *Provided, That no Perſon ſhall Incur any the Penalties in*

he ſhall for ſuch Offence incur Double the Penalties before mentioned, to be Recovered in manner, as aforeſaid, and ſhall Forfeit ſuch Office or Imployment, and ſhall not be Capable of having any Office or Imployment, until he ſhall have Conformed for the Space of Three Years, in manner aforeſaid, whereof Oath ſhall be made in Writing in One of Her Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, or at the Quarter Seſſions of the County where he Reſides.

Clauſe [*E*] Diſagreed to by the Commons.

this Act, by Reſorting to, or being Preſent at the Religious Exerciſes uſed in the Dutch *and* French *Languages, in Churches Eſtabliſhed in this Realm, in the Reigns of King* Edward *the 6th, or of Queen* Elizabeth, *or of any other King or Queen of this Realm.*

[E] *Provided always, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That nothing in this Act ſhall extend, or be Conſtrued to extend to any Governor or Governors of any Hoſpital or Hoſpitals, or to any Aſſiſtants of any Corporation or Corporations, Work-houſe or Work-houſes, Conſtituted, Erected or Imployed for the Relief, and Setting of the Poor on Work, and for Puniſhing of Vagrants and Beggars; all which ſaid Perſons, and every of them, ſhall be, and are hereby Exempted from all the Penalties mentioned in this Act, and are hereby Adjudged and Declared not to be ſubject or liable to any of the Penalties or Forfeitures mentioned in one Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of King* Charles *the Second,* For Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, *for or by reaſon of any of the aforeſaid Offices or Imployments.*

Ordered, That the ſaid Bill ſhall be Read a ſecond time to Morrow, at One a Clock, and all the Lords Summoned.

* * * * * *

1. The Lords do not go about to take away the Force of the Corporation Act, or to leſſen any Security the Church of *England* has by it, but cannot Agree to Extend the Penalties of this Bill.

* * * * * *

2. They Conceive the Penalty of One hundred Pounds, and Five Pounds a day for every day after the Offence Committed, to be Exceſſive; and the whole being given to the Informer, would prove a dangerous Temptation to Perjury, and a pernicious Encouragement to Informers, the moſt odious Sort of Perſons, which would be a Blemiſh on the beſt Reign.

Their Lordſhips have given a ſufficient Proof of their Willingneſs, to make this Bill as Effectual as will Conſiſt with Reaſon, by agreeing to ſuch a Pecuniary Penalty (beſides the loſs of Office) as may be a proper Encouragement to Informers to Swear the Truth, tho' not perhaps a ſufficient Temptation to go further.

* * * * * *

3. The Lords think, that an *Engliſh* Man cannot be reduced to a more unhappy Condition, than to be put by Law under an Incapacity of Serving his Prince and Country, and therefore nothing but a Crime of the moſt Deteſtable Nature, ought to put him under ſuch a Diſability, they who think the being Preſent at a Meeting to be ſo High a Crime, can hardly think, that a Toleration of ſuch Meetings ought to Continue long, and yet the Bill ſays, The Act of Toleration ought to be kept Inviolable.

The Lords do not think it at all Neceſſary, to make any increaſe of Puniſhment for a Second Offence, becauſe the Firſt Offence is made Forfeiture of Office, and when the Office is gone, the Perſon may go to a Meeting without Breach of any Law while the Act of Toleration Continues; and if he ſhall afterwards get another Office, he will Forfeit the ſame, and incur the Penalties in this Act, if he ſhall ever after be Preſent at a Conventicle, which their Lordſhips think Sufficient Puniſhment for a Second Offence.

* * * * * *

The Lords inſiſt on the Clauſe (*B*).

Becauſe to leave Proteſtant Diſſenters ſubject to Penalties, if they do not Accept of Offices, and at the ſame Time to Reſtrain them, if they Accept of them upon the Penalties of this Bill, from doing what they think themſelves Obliged to in Conſcience, is perſecution for Conſcience, and does not agree with what is ſet forth in the Preamble of the Bill.

* * * * * *

The Managers for the Lords at the Free Conference, were the Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Sommers*, and the Lord *Halifax*.

The Lords of this Houſe who were commanded to Manage the Free Conference with the Commons, on *Saturday* the 16th of *January*, did meet the Commons, and the Free Conference was begun by the Managers for the Commons, who were Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. Solicitor General, and Sir *Thomas Powis*.

They acquainted the Managers for the Lords, that the Commons had agreed to the addition of words their Lordſhips had made to the Commons Amendments to the Lords Amendment in the 2d Skin, l. 33. but inſiſted on their Diſagreement to the Lords other Amendments, and to their Lordſhips Clauſes Marked *B*, *C*, *D*, & *E*, and therefore had deſired this Free Conference with the Lords, in order to preſerve a good Correſpondence between the two Houſes.

* * * * * *

That the Commons were incapable of having any Deſigns they were aſhamed to own: That they deſigned nothing but the preſervation of the Church of *England*, and the Monarchy, and doubted not to meet with a ready Concurrence from the Lords in their deſigns.

That an Eſtabliſhed Religion, and a National Church, are abſolutely neceſſary, when ſo many ill Men pretend to Inſpiration, and when there are ſo many weak Men to follow them.

That if a National Church be neceſſary, the only effectual way to preſerve it, is, by keeping the Civil Power in the Hands of thoſe whoſe Practices and Principles are Conformable to it.

That when the Corporation Act was made, the Parliament had freſh in their Minds the Confuſions and Calamities that had been brought upon the Nation, by ſuch as pretended to be at the ſame time in the true Intereſt of Religion and their Countrey: That the Parliament by that Act, and afterwards by the Teſt Act, thought they had Secured our Eſtabliſhment both in Church and State, and that they had provided a ſufficient Barrier to Defeat and Diſappoint any Attempts againſt them, by Enacting, That all in Offices ſhould Receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church of *England*, and never imagined a Set of Men would, at any time, riſe up, whoſe Conſciences were too tender to obey the Laws, but hardned enough to break thro' any.

* * * * * *

That by Occaſional Conformity the Diſſenters may let themſelves into the Government of all the Corporations, and 'tis obvious how far that would influence the Government of the Kingdom.

That to ſeparate from a Church which has nothing in it againſt a Mans Conſcience to Conform to, is Schiſm.

That Schiſm is certainly a Spiritual Sin, without the ſuperadding of a Temporal Law to make it an Offence.

That Occaſional Conformity Declares a Mans Conſcience will let him Conform, and in ſuch a Man Non Conformity is a wilful Sin, and why ſhould Occaſional Conformity be allowed in Corporations? when the Lords Agree, That out of Corporations it ought not to be allowed.

* * * * * *

That the Lords did equally deſire a good Correſpondence betwixt the two Houſes, and were ſo ſatisfied of the neceſſity of Union at this time, that they thought all Meaſures fatal that might create any Diviſions amongſt Proteſtants at home, or give any Check to the neceſſary Union amongſt our Allies abroad, of the Reformed Religion.

For which Reaſons, in a time of War they thought Alterations unneceſſary, and dangerous, and were unwilling to bring any real hardſhips upon the Diſſenters at this time, or give them any cauſe of Jealouſies or Fears.

That the Toleration hath had ſuch viſible and good effects, hath contributed ſo much to the Security and Reputation of the Church of *England*, and produced ſo good a temper amongſt the Diſſenters, that the Lords are unwilling to give the leaſt diſcredit to that Act; being ſenſible that Liberty of Conſcience, and gentle Meaſures are moſt proper, and have been found moſt effectual toward increaſing the Church, and diminiſhing the number of Diſſenters.

That the Lords apprehend that ſome parts of this Bill by them amended, have an Air of Severity improper for this Seaſon; that tho' there may be ſome things to be found fault with, yet a proper time ought to be taken to apply Remedies; that the attempting too haſty Cures, have often proved fatal.

* * * * * *

The Church has no Reaſon to Complain of the Effects of the Toleration, for as the Numbers of thoſe who Divide from us do viſibly Abate all over the Nation, ſo the Heat and Fermentation which was Raiſed by thoſe Diviſions is almoſt entirely laid, and we cannot but look on that as a Happy Step towards the Healing of our Wounds.

But what may we not look for under the Reign of ſuch a Queen! Whoſe Example, whoſe Virtues and Zeal give us Reaſon to Hope for a Happy State of Matters in the Church, if undue Severities do not again Raiſe new Flames, and ſet a new Edge on Mens Spirits, which may Blaſt theſe Hopes, and Defeat the Succeſs that we might otherwiſe Expect under ſuch an Auſpicious Reign.

* * * * * *

As for this Occaſional Conformity, the Lords do not go about to Excuſe, or to Defend it; but they who have obſerved the Progreſs of thoſe Matters, and have born a large ſhare in theſe Controverſies, muſt acquaint the Commons, that it is no New Practice invented to Evade a Law: It has been both the Principle and Practice of ſome of the moſt Eminent among the Diſſenters ever ſince St. *Bartholomews* in the Year, 1662. It is known, that *Baxter* and *Bates* did ſtill Maintain it, and that ſeveral Books have been writ about it: And as the fierceſt of the Diſſenters, who intended to keep up a Wall of Partition

between them and the Church, have oppoſed it much; ſo the Party of all the Diſſenters that came neareſt the Church, and of whom the greateſt Numbers have come over to it, were thoſe that Pleaded for it. Nor is it a certain Inference, that becauſe a Man Receives the Sacrament in the Church, he can therefore Conform in every other Particular; The Office of the Communion, is certainly One of the Brighteſt and Beſt Compoſed of any that ever was in the Church of God: The little Exceptions that lay to the Poſture, were ſo fully cleared by the Rubrick that is added, that it is indeed a wonder how any Perſon ſhould except to any thing in the whole Office. But it does not neceſſarily follow, that therefore every Man who is ſatisfied with this, ſhould be likewiſe ſatisfied with every other Part of Conformity. There was a very Learned and Famous Man that lived at *Saliſbury*, Mr. *Tombs*, who was a very Zealous Conformiſt in all Points but in One, Infant Baptiſm; ſo that the receiving the Sacrament, does not neceſſarily Import an entire Conformity in every other Particular; no more than a Man who can ſubſcribe to the two Firſt Articles of Our Religion, that are indeed the Main Ones, and contain the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Incarnation and Satisfaction of Chriſt, is by that concluded to Aſſent to the reſt of the Thirty Nine; The Diſſenters agree to the Firſt, but refuſe ſome of the Laſt: This is likewiſe to be Remembred, That after St. *Bartholomew* in 1662. Occaſional Conformity was a ſtep that carried many much further; from Occaſional Conformity it grew to a Conſtant Conformity, if not in the Perſons themſelves, yet in their Children; ſo the Lords now ſee ſome deſcended from Occaſional Conformiſts, eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Church with much Zeal.

For theſe Reaſons the Lords do Conceive the Penalties in this Bill to be exceſſive, and unreaſonable.

III. *Defoe on the Occasional Conformity Bill*

DEFOE, *though a Non-conformist, disapproved of the practice of occasional conformity, at least when attendance at church was resorted to merely in order to qualify for office. But while disapproving of the interested practice of occasional conformity, he resented the violence of the High Church attack on Non-conformists, the spirit evoked in support of the Bill, more than he objected to the Bill itself.*

(*a*) *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity* (Defoe)

THE subject I am upon needs no introduction, the history is in every man's knowledge; the parliament are upon a bill to prevent occasional conformity, and about that bill the press swarms with pamphlets; the pulpit sounds with exaltations on one hand, and deprecations on the other. Every one speak their opinions, some their hopes, some their fears, and so it should have been to the end of the chapter, if I could have found but one middle sort, that, free from prejudice of parties, could have discerned the native state of the case as it really is discovered from the passions and follies of men.

About their act of parliament, I affirm most of the people I have met with are mistaken; and, that I may be as explicit as I can, I shall inquire more particularly who are mistaken, how, and then I doubt not the sequel of this paper shall make it appear that the fact is true.

1st. All those people who designed the act as a blow to the dissenting interest in England are mistaken.—2ndly. All those who take it as a prelude or introduction to the further suppressing of the dissenters, and a step to repealing the Toleration, or intend it as such, are mistaken.—3rdly. All those who think the dissenters at all concerned in it, or have designed to mortify them by it, are mistaken.—4thly. All those Hotspurs of divinity who prophesy destruction from the pulpit, and from this step pretend to foretell that the time of plundering their brethren is at hand, are mistaken.—5thly. All those phlegmatic dissenters who fancy themselves undone, and that persecution and desolation are at the door again, are mistaken.—6thly. All those dissenters who are really at all

disturbed at it, either as an advantage gained by their enemies, or as a real disaster upon themselves, are mistaken.—7thly. All those dissenters who deprecate it as a judgment, or would vote against it if it were in their power, are mistaken.—8thly. That all those who begun or promoted this bill with a design to ruin, weaken, and destroy the interest or body of the dissenters in England, are mistaken.

Not that I hereby suppose the parliament, or the persons originally concerned in moving this bill, did it in mere kindness to the dissenters, in order to refine and purge them from the scandals which some people had brought upon them; that it was an action of Christian charity to the dissenters, to prevent and detect frauds and hypocrisy in religion, and to clear their reputation.

I never yet saw or read of a division of parties in any nation, but the hotheads of both parties were always for inflaming the reckoning. If the hot men of the dissenters have done any mischief, I am sorry for it; but let us examine a little what other hot men would be now adoing.

No sooner was Queen Anne settled upon the throne of England, and had declared that the Church of England should be the men of her favour, as being the church she had been educated in, and ever constant to, but these hot men fly out upon their brethren with all the excesses of their furious temper.

Nothing would serve them but this Queen and parliament must, root and branch, blast the dissenters with their breath, blow up their interest in the nation, and we should be all one church and one people of a sudden; it was to be done with a blow, all at once, and so certainly, that no possible doubt could be made of it.

But her Majesty was pleased to let these people know from her own mouth, that, forasmuch as concerned her, they were mistaken; in that, upon the address of the dissenters to her, she gave them her royal word for her protection, and whenever she breaks it, we shall all be mistaken.

Upon this the pulpit, that drum ecclesiastic, began the war, and Mr Sachavrel, in his sermon at Oxford, dooms all the dissenters to destruction, without either bell, book, or candle;

not regarding common decency, not respecting his good manners to the Queen, nor his deference to the parliament; but tells them it is their duty, if they will be true members of the Church of England, to lift up a standard against the fanatics, and the like, as much as to say, Madam, whatever your Majesty has promised, you must break your word; and gentlemen of the House of Commons, we will have you do it.

Now all these gentlemen have lived to see themselves mistaken; and if they retain any expectations of seeing it fulfilled, they must exercise their faith upon it as a thing *in futuro*, and believe that some time or other her Majesty will break her word; but as yet there is no great probability, for hitherto we have seen they are all mistaken.

But to revive their expectations, comes a bill into the house for preventing occasional conformity. This has been matter of great triumph to some gentlemen, who upon this act revive their common discourse, and are pleased to treat the dissenters in this manner: Well, gentlemen, now down you go. The parliament are a beginning with you, and they do not use to do business by halves; they have taken the insulted Church into consideration; they will reduce you, and this is the first step: you shall soon see some more on it. We have got a Church parliament now, and down ye go. This bill will effectually ruin your interest, and bring all your great men off from you.

This brings us close to the point; and it is no small matter for any one to show these gentlemen how they are mistaken.

First: It is time for these gentlemen to tell us what the parliament will do when they either know it, or the house has declared their intentions; and till they have, it is a presumption some houses would have taken notice of, for any people to pretend to lead them to their business; and therefore when they tell us this is a taste of the rest they are preparing for us, I must say, either they are too well acquainted with the mind of the house, or they are all mistaken; and as to the blow, this bill is to the dissenters' interest in England.

As far as I may be allowed to give my judgment, and as the nature of the thing seems to speak itself, it is plain this bill is no damage at all to the dissenters in England, and we hope the house did not intend it as such.

I cannot imagine that so great a spirit of enmity and contempt can be entertained in the breast of a nation against their neighbours, their brethren, people born in the same climate, submitting to the same government, professing the same God, and in most fundamental points of religion agreeing, people linked together in the same common interest, by intermarriages continually mixed in relation, concerned in the same trade, making war with the same enemies, and allied with the same friends; were it not that these people, called dissenters, are represented to them under some strange and untrue character, or that under the name of dissenter some ill persons, shrouded and disguised, who deserve to be thus treated.

Wherefore, in order to set the dissenters right in the eyes of their brethren, and that they may have common justice at least, if they can have nothing of courtesy, that peace may be where there is no occasion for war, and quietness and good manners preserved, it will be needful to set the matter in a true light, and examine who this dissenter is, what the people dissenters are, and what they have done, for which they are treated after so infamous a manner by scurrilous preachers, and scandalous pamphleteers, and other ignorant people, not a few.

The dissenter is an Englishman, that being something desirous of going to heaven, having heard his Church of England father and schoolmaster, and the minister of the parish, talk much of it, begins seriously to inquire about the way thither; and to that purpose, consulting his bible and his conscience, he finds that in his opinion there are some things in the established way of worship which do not seem to correspond with the rule he has found out in the scripture.

Now I shall not examine here whether the man thus scrupulous be in the right, or whether the church be in the right; it does not at all belong to the case in hand.

But the man being fully convinced that he ought to worship God in that way, exclusive of all others, which is most agreeable to the will of God revealed in the scripture; and being on mature consideration also, and after sincere endeavours to be otherwise satisfied, fully convinced that this established way is not so near to that rule as it ought to be, ventures the dis-

pleasure of the civil magistrate in dissenting, in pure obedience to the commands of his conscience, and of that rule which bids him obey God rather than man; firmly believing that it is his duty so to do, and that the compass and extent of human laws do not reach to bind him in matters of conscience; at the same time living in charity with all the rest of the world whose consciences do not require the same restriction, and peaceably submitting to the laws and government he lives under, as far as either his right as an Englishman, or his duty as a Christian, can require.

This is the English Protestant dissenter which I have been speaking of, and concerning whom I have ventured to say so many men, so much wiser than I, are mistaken.

If there are crept into his company state dissenters, politic dissenters, or any that give no reason or other, or less reasons, for their dissenting than these, they are not of them, and we wish they would go out from them.

I see no act of parliament a-making to the prejudice of this dissenter; and let hot men preach, print, and say what they please, it is impossible it should ever enter into the breast of an English Protestant parliament, or an English Protestant Queen, either to oppress or suppress such a dissenter.

It is for the protection of this honest, well-meaning dissenter, that in the late reign the king and parliament, finding their number great, thought it was meet for the quiet of the nation, and as an acknowledgment of the superiority of conscience to all human laws, to settle their liberty in an act of parliament; the same undisputed authority on which all our civil as well as religious rights are established.

This is the dissenter to which her Majesty has promised her protection, and this act of parliament is the toleration to tender consciences for which her Majesty openly declared herself, even to the hazard of her royal person.

These are the dissenters who never gave her Majesty any reason to believe they did not merit her protection, and I firmly believe never will.

From these the Church of England has nothing to fear, unless their exemplary lives and unquestioned piety should prevail to weaken her numbers, and we heartily wish all the

strife were reduced to this, viz., who should live best and who should preach best.

If there are among them vicious youths or grown hypocrites —if there are crept in errors, heresies, and enthusiasts, are not the same among the church? If there are among these dissenters quakers, antinomians, sweet-singers, muggletonians, and the like, the church has also her socinians, deists, antitrinitarians, sceptics, asgilites, and the like. There can be no advantage pleaded against heresy and damnable heterodox opinions from one side more than another.

If we regard the matters of state, the dissenters and the Church of England have small advantage of the argument one against another; and I may without arrogance challenge the hot churchmen, who can treat them with nothing but the odious name of disturbers of the peace, enemies of monarchy, and authors of confusion, to bring the loyalty of the Church of England, so much boasted of in the world, to the test with the loyalty of the dissenter; and it has lately been done to my hand. It is easy to prove that the dissenter has been equally loyal to princes, equally true to the government and constitution of England as the church; and the church has been equally disloyal, and has as often resisted, and took arms against the lawful established power and prince as the dissenter, and let them enter into this dispute whenever they please.

But what is all this to the present case? What we do as Englishmen is one thing, and what we do as Christians and dissenters is another.

It is also foreign to our purpose to examine or reply to Mr Stubbs, or the multitude of pamphleteers who place themselves at the forlorn hope of the church, and begin the war in hopes of drawing on that whole body to an engagement: when they can make it out that the dissenter and the church are as far asunder in religion as God and Baal, I may possibly think they merit what they so much covet, viz., to be replied to.

Whole reams of paper are spoiled since that to prove that this act of parliament is needful, because it is fit the church should be established; to which I answer with a question, asked once with much less reason in another case, "What need all this waste?"

Gentlemen, establish your church with all the precaution you can, build a fence of impregnable laws about it, you are welcome; we never did, nor do we now, disturb you; leave but us, your poor brethren, liberty to serve God according to our consciences; do not bind us to do as you can do whether we can or no; take your places, and pensions, and profits, and deserve them of the nation if you can, we ask nothing but our right, and what is now become so by law; if you claim the civil power as your own, you consequently take us into your protection, and let us see how generous you will be.

As to those among us who can conform to your church for a place, for a salary, you are also welcome to take them among you, and let them be a part of yourselves; all the converts you can make by the mammon of unrighteousness are your own; all you can buy off, or bribe off, or fright off, let them go; we readily grant that whoever among us can, with satisfaction to his conscience, conform, ought to conform, and we heartily wish you would make some small steps, by way of condescension to your brethren, such as might open your door for us all to conform to you, and then you should dissent from principles of obstinacy and ill-nature, or from a mere necessity of conscience; you should then see whether the dissenters in England were schismatics by nature and heterodox by inclination; or whether their objections are grounded upon scripture, and their dissenting from you an act of an enlightened conscience; you would then try the spirits whether they be of God.

But since you are of the opinion that you are capable of no amendment, that you cannot reform farther, and therefore will not condescend one step, though it would bring over half a million of souls to you, an eminent instance of the charity of your church, all we have to say in the case is, let us have the protection of the government and the liberty the laws allow us, and we are content.

Upon this score it is that we say the act against occasional conformity does not concern us; they who can conform for one reason may conform without two, and ought to conform, and we are therefore content to be distinguished who cannot conform at all; and if we might offer so boldly to you who

have any interest in the House of Commons, we would humbly propose to have the title of the act altered, and to have it entitled 'An Act for the better Uniting the Protestant Dissenters, by preventing Occasional Conformity to the Church of England,' and when that is done let it pass with all our hearts; and though we can easily see what the design is, viz., that no dissenter shall be employed in a place of trust or profit in the government, yet since it must be so, we hope, gentlemen, you will be content to take all the miscarriages of the government on you too; we shall acquiesce. Let us alone in our religion, let us worship God as we believe he has directed us, and all the rest is your own.

But before we part let us have leave to remind you, that although you are willing to quit all our civil right to the honours, as well as the advantages of serving our country when we are chosen to it by a fair majority, rather than not enjoy our religion and the profession we make with peace and liberty, yet it is no less an oppression upon us, and the hardships are such as can never be defended by reason or equity.

We would be glad we had no cause to think ourselves injured, and to such of the Church of England who can judge without prejudice, we would appeal whether it is not very hard?

First. That the dissenter shall be excluded from all places of profit, trust, and honour, and at the same time shall not be excused from those which are attended with charge, trouble, and loss of his time.

Secondly. That a dissenter shall be pressed as a sailor to fight at sea, enlisted as a soldier to fight on shore, and let his merit be never so much above his fellows, shall never be capable of preferment, no, not a lieutenant at sea, or so much as a halbert in the army.

Thirdly. That we must maintain our own clergy and your clergy, our own poor and your poor; pay equal taxes and equal duties, and not be thought worthy to be trusted to set a drunkard in the stocks.

We wonder, gentlemen, you will accept our money on your deficient funds, our stocks to help carry on your wars, our loans and credits to your victualling office and navy office.

If you would go on to distinguish us, get a law made we

shall buy no lands, that we may not be freeholders, and see if you could find money to buy us out.

Transplant us into towns and bodies, and let us trade by ourselves, let us card, spin, knit, and work with and for one another, and see how you will maintain your own poor without us.

Let us freight our ships apart, keep our money out of your bank, accept none of our bills, and separate yourselves as absolutely from us in civil matters as we do from you in religious, and see how you can go on without us.

If you are not willing to do this, but we must live among you, trade, work, receive and pay together, why may we not do it in peace, with love and unity, without daily reproach? If we have any knaves among us, take them; if we have any hypocrites, any who can conform and do not, we are free to part with them, that the remainder may be all such as agree with the character here given; and when you have garbled us to your heart's desire and ours, you need never fear your church as to her politic interest in the world; pray, then, let us be quiet.

What have we to do with your distinctions of Whig and Tory? No farther that I know of than this, that when, distinct from our religious concerns, we come to talk of our liberties, properties, and English privileges, we are not for having them destroyed by absolute authority, dispensing power, and the like; and if this be to be Whigs, ye are Whigs.

As to kings and rulers, we are of the opinion that when they degenerate into tyrants, oppress their people, destroy the laws, with all the et ceteras of arbitrary power, it is lawful for the injured people to reduce them to reason, and to seek protection and powerful help from anybody, to assist them to recover their undoubted rights and liberties; if this be to be traitors, why then, gentlemen of the Church of England, hold up your hands; how say you, are you guilty or not guilty?

As to oaths, with which, gentlemen, ye were the men that loaded your allegiance farther than you had any occasion, we are of the opinion that they can bind the subject no longer than the sovereign continues the protection of the executive

power; and that the late king, by his deserting the throne, absolved all his subjects from the bond of their allegiance, and on this foot we made no scruple to swear to the government as it now stands, on the foot of the late revolution; and if you have sworn with us, and yet do not believe so, you may get off of the perjury if you can.

And what need is there now of running down the dissenters with a full cry, as if this act a coming out was a machine to blow them all up? we see no harm in it at all, other than the hardships we mentioned before, most of which we suffered before, and are like only to have them the faster entailed on our posterity.

All those gentlemen, therefore, who think this act will weaken the dissenters, or wish it would, are manifestly mistaken, it may distinguish them better, and I am persuaded will fortify them in their honest profession; it will teach them that if they will hold fast the truth, they must learn to live like people under the power of those who hate them and despitefully use them.

The dissenters, too, are strangely mistaken in their apprehensions of the ill consequences of this act.

To such I would say, I cannot imagine what they have to fear from it, or why they should be uneasy with the honour; they are also rid of the incumbrance of being mayors, aldermen, jurats, and sheriffs of the towns and corporations; and let them but reflect what was the gain that all the dissenters in England have made by places and pensions from the government since the late revolution, I am persuaded it will not all amount to the sum that one churchman will be found to have cheated the nation of.

The church are willing to engross all the knaves to themselves, and let them do it and welcome, though they get all the money into the bargain; if they would but come to a fair account with us now, and repay all the dissenters' money the nation has been cheated of by church knaves, I dare undertake the dissenters shall repay all that can be charged on their knaves out of the balance.

The foundation of the dissenters' safety is lodged by God's especial providence in the queen's veracity; while the queen

esteems her word sacred, as she has assured us she will, we have no occasion to be concerned at all.

The safety of the dissenters consists in their own honesty and integrity; while they do nothing to offend either her majesty or the laws, if it were possible to have a parliament of church bigots or of pulpit Sachaverells, there will be no fear of their liberty.

As to the present act, I doubt not but they will live to see cause to be thankful for the making it, when the miscarriages of all people in public offices and employments are so eminently fixed upon a party, and so openly and fairly taken off from them.

They are mistaken, too, in the sense of the present parliament, and they may be assured, had not their enemies seen that an English Protestant parliament, as this is, is not to be prevailed upon to overthrow so substantial a part of the nation's liberty as is settled in the act of toleration, they had not rested so long, but before now had attempted it.

They have tried it in the pulpit, scattered it in scandalous pamphlets from the press, affirmed that toleration is destructive of the churches as well as the nation's safety; they have endeavoured, by calumny and reproach, to blacken the dissenters with crimes never committed, and, which they would never own before, are at last come to represent them as a formidable party.

And yet all this could never bring so much as one member of the house to be so blind to his country's interest as to make a motion against the act of toleration.

Being thus disappointed, and willing to play at small game rather than stand out, they fly to the sanctuary of this bill, and feign themselves gratified by it more than ever the bill or the house itself intended, for in all their arguments for the bill it is supposed to be a means to reduce, humble, and mortify the dissenters; *ridiculus mus!* is this all? Why, really, gentlemen, had it been in our power, you should have had all this without an act of parliament; this will strengthen, not reduce us—it will please, not mortify or humble us; and thus you find yourselves all mistaken, mistaken in the House of Commons themselves, in thinking the representatives of a Protestant

nation will repeal the act of toleration, upon which the tranquillity of their native country so much depends; but above all mistaken in their expectation of the queen, to whom their behaviour is preposterous and unmannerly.

No, gentlemen, we do not tell you we like that part of the bill which excludes us from the native honours and preferments of our country, which are our due, our birthright, equally with our neighbours, and to which we should be called by the suffrage of the people; and we cannot but think it a hardship beyond the power of reason to justify, and still believe it will never pass upon us. But since this right must be clogged with so many inconveniences, that we must mortgage our consciences to enjoy them, no man can have any charity left for us, but must presently conclude we shall freely forego such trifles for our consciences, or else that we may have no consciences at all.

Therefore it is no feint; we are so content with the suppressing the grievance of this scandalous *ambo-dexter* conformity, that we think the hardships put upon us with it not worth naming. We doubt not the parliament will one time or other see cause to do us justice, and to restore to us the privileges of our ancestors, and which we have done nothing to forfeit.

(*b*) *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*

IT *would have been well for Defoe if he had confined his remarks on the Occasional Conformity Bill to the* Enquiry *quoted above. But his indignation at the abuse being showered on his co-religionists by the High Church Party led him to indulge in a very questionable piece of irony, a pamphlet entitled* The Shortest Way with Dissenters, *purporting to be an extreme High-Church attack on Dissenters. It was not at once perceived that it was a parody, and was at first taken for the real article. When the truth became apparent, the indignation of the High Churchmen was naturally great. Defoe, discovered to be the author, was imprisoned, after having been made first to stand in the pillory in London, where, however, the crowd instead of pelting him gave him an ovation. His subsequent imprisonment was a more serious matter for him.*

It was a great argument some people used against suppressing the old money, that it was a time of war, and it was too great a risk for the nation to run, if we should not master it we should be undone; and yet the sequel proved the hazard was not so great but it might be mastered, and the success was answerable. The suppressing the dissenters is not a harder work, nor a work of less necessity to the public; we can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation, till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism is melted down like the old money.

To talk of the difficulty is to frighten ourselves with chimeras and notions of a powerful party, which are indeed a party without power; difficulties often appear greater at a distance than when they are searched into with judgment and distinguished from the vapours and shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightened with it, this age is wiser than that by all our own experience and theirs too; King Charles the First had early suppressed this party if he had taken more deliberate measures. In short, it is not worth arguing to talk of their arms, their Monmouths, and Shaftesburys, and Argyles are gone, their Dutch sanctuary is at an end, heaven has made way for their destruction, and if we do not close with the divine occasion we are to blame ourselves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of England by extirpating her implacable enemies, and having let slip the minute that heaven presented, may experimentally complain, *Post est occasio calva.*

Here are some popular objections in the way.

As first, the Queen has promised them, to continue them in their tolerated liberty; and has told us she will be a religious observer of her word.

What her majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the head of the church, she ought to do, is another case: her majesty has promised to protect and defend the Church of England, and if she cannot effectually do that without the destruction of the dissenters, she must of course dispense with one promise to comply with another. But to answer this cavil more effectually: her majesty did never promise to maintain the toleration to the destruction of the church; but it is upon

supposition that it may be compatible with the well-being and safety of the church which she had declared she would take especial care of; now if these two interests clash, it is plain her majesty's intentions are to uphold, protect, defend, and establish the church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be said, that the church is in no immediate danger from the dissenters, and therefore it is time enough: but this is a weak answer.

For first, if a danger be real, the distance of it is no argument against, but rather a spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And secondly, here is the opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the church had to secure herself and destroy her enemies.

The representatives of the nation have now an opportunity, the time is come which all good men have wished for, that the gentlemen of England may serve the Church of England, now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of England Queen.

What will you do for your sister in the day that she shall be spoken for?

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the world.

If ever you will suppress the spirit of enthusiasm.

If ever you will free the nation from the viperous brood that have so long sucked the blood of their mother.

If ever you will leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical weed of sedition, that has so long disturbed the peace of our church, and poisoned the good corn.

But, says another hot and cold objector, this is renewing fire and faggot, reviving the act *De Heret. Comburendo:* this will be cruelty in its nature and barbarous to all the world.

I answer, it is cruelty to kill a snake or a toad in cold blood, but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours to destroy those creatures, not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do.

Serpents, toads, vipers, &c. are noxious to the body, and poison the sensitive life; these poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, our future felicity, and contaminate the whole mass.

Shall any law be given to such wild creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them advantages of ground; but some are knocked on the head by all possible ways of violence and surprise.

I do not prescribe fire and faggot, but as Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago*, they are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own. As for the manner, I leave it to those hands who have a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and the church's enemies.

(*c*) Defoe's *Explanation of the Shortest Way with the Dissenters*

The Author professes he thought, when he wrote the book, he should never need to come to an explanation, and wonders to find there should be any reason for it.

If any man takes the pains seriously to reflect upon the contents, the nature of the thing, and the manner of the style, it seems impossible to imagine it should pass for anything but a banter upon the high-flying churchmen.

That it is free from any seditious design, either of stirring up the dissenters to any evil practice by way of prevention, much less of animating others to their destruction, will be plain, I think, to any man that understands the present constitution of England, and the nature of our government.

But since ignorance or prejudice has led most men to a hasty censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the government for it, in justice to those who are in danger to suffer for it; in submission to the parliament and council, who may be offended at it; and in courtesy to all mistaken people, who it seems have not penetrated into the real design, the author presents the world with the native genuine meaning and design of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of the government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us.

The paper, without the least retrospect to or concern in the public bills in parliament now depending, or any other proceedings of either house, or of the government, relating to the dissenters, whose occasional conformity the author has constantly opposed, has its immediate original from the virulent spirits of some men who have thought fit to express themselves to the same effect in their printed books, though not in words so plain, and at length, and by an irony not unusual, stands as a fair answer to several books published in this liberty of the press; which, if they had been handed to the government with the same temper as this has, would no question have found the same treatment.

The sermon preached at Oxford, 'The New Association,' 'The Poetical Observator,' with numberless others, have said the same thing, in terms very little darker, and this book stands fair to let those gentlemen know that what they design can no further take with mankind than as their real meaning stands disguised by artifice of words; but that when the persecution and destruction of the dissenters, the very thing they drive at, is put into plain English, the whole nation will start at the notion, and condemn the author to be hanged for his impudence.

The author humbly hopes he shall find no harder treatment for plain English, without design, than those gentlemen for their plain design, in duller and darker English.

Any gentlemen who have patience to peruse the author of 'The New Association,' will find gallows, galleys, persecution, and destruction of the dissenters are directly pointed at, as fairly intended and designed, as in this 'Shortest Way,' had it been real, can be pretended; there is as much virulence against a union with Scotland, against King William's government, and against the line of Hanover, there is as much noise and pains taken in Mr S—ll's sermon to blacken the dissenters, and thereby to qualify them for the abhorrence of all mankind, as is possible.

The meaning, then, of this paper is, in short, to tell these gentlemen:

1. That it is nonsense to go round about and tell us of the crimes of the dissenters, to prepare the world to believe they are not fit to live in a humane society, that they are enemies to

the government and law, to the queen and the public peace, and the like; the shortest way, and the soonest, would be to tell us plainly that they would have them all hanged, banished, and destroyed.

2. But withal to acquaint those gentlemen who fancy the time is come to bring it to pass that they are mistaken, for that when the thing they mean is put into plain English, the whole nation replies with the Assyrian captain, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these things?" The gentlemen are mistaken in every particular; it will not go down; the queen, the council, the parliament are all offended, to have it so much as suggested that such a thing was possible to come into their minds; and not a man, but a learned mercer, not far from the corner of Fenchurch street, has been found to approve it.

Thus a poor author has ventured to have all mankind call him villain and traitor to his country and friends, for making other people's thoughts speak in his words.

From this declaration of his real design he humbly hopes the lords of her majesty's council, or the house of parliament, will be no longer offended, and that the poor people in trouble on this account shall be pardoned or excused.

He also desires that all men who have taken offence at the book, mistaking the author's design, will suffer themselves to think again, and withhold their censure till they find themselves qualified to make a venture like this for the good of their native country.

As to expressions which seem to reflect upon persons or nations, he declares them to be only the cant of the nonjuring party exposed, and thinks it very necessary to let the world know that it is their usual language, with which they treat the late king, the Scotch union, and the line of Hanover.

It is hard, after all, that this should not be perceived by all the town, that not one man can see it, either churchman or dissenter.

That not the dissenters themselves can see that this was the only way to satisfy them, that whatever the parliament might think fit to do to restrain occasional communion, persecution and destruction was never in their intention, and that therefore they have nothing to do but to be quiet and easy.

For anything in the manner of the paper which may offend either the government or private persons the author begs their pardon, and protesting the honesty of his intention, resolves, if the people now in trouble may be excused, to throw himself upon the favour of the government, rather than others shall be ruined for his mistakes.

IV, V. Swift and Addison

THESE famous pieces of Swift and Addison, from *The Examiner* of 1711 and *The Freeholder* of 1715 are a decade later in date than the early years of Queen Anne, but they represent very perfectly the feeling of the Tories about the Whigs and Dissenters throughout the reign, and the corresponding feelings of the Whigs about the Tory "fox-hunting" squires. The accusation made by Swift in No. 37 of *The Examiner* (pp. 64–66 below) against the Dissenters of having joined with James II to ruin the Church of England is the exact opposite of the truth of history.

IV. Swift. *The Examiner* NUMB. 36

FROM THURSDAY MARCH 29, TO THURSDAY APRIL 5, 1711

What the Tories thought of the Whigs and Dissenters

I HAVE been considering the old constitution of this kingdom, comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe: I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the Reformation: I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people, under that reasonable freedom they possess: Then I have turned my reflections upon those two great divisions of Whig and Tory, (which, some way or other, take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another.

From all this, I endeavour to determine, from which side her present M[ajest]y may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government, and to which she ought, in prudence, to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians who think, a prince descends from his dignity by putting himself at the head of either; and that his wisest course is, to keep them in a balance; raising or depressing either as it best suited with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side, and when the other is but a faction, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought, in prudence, to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects' eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those, who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the Whigs, to make up, strictly speaking, a national party; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; the present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy, of endeavouring to overturn the Church and State; which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as *their predecessors* did, after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For, how could a Whig, who is against all discipline, agree with a Presbyterian, that carries it higher than the Papists themselves? How could a Socinian adjust his models to either? Or how could any of these cement with a Deist or Freethinker, when they came to consult upon settling points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government, where some would have been for a king, under the limitations of a Duke of Venice; others for a Dutch republic; a third party for an aristocracy, and most of them all for some new fabric of their own contriving.

But however, let us consider them as a party, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then let us *Examine* those principles of the Tories, which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions: after which, let the reader judge from which of these two parties a prince hath most to fear; and whether her M[ajest]y did not consider the ease, the safety and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her Protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were now entire; the Qu[een] to make her choice, and for that end, should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive the Whigs would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for crowned heads; that they allow, the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raised against King Charles the First, or own it to be a rebellion, though they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the prerogative to be yet sufficiently limited, and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it closer against next reign; which, consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present: not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow, that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to religion; their universal, undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among Protestants; and in the word Protestant they include every body who is not a Papist, and who will, by an oath, give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a Church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant and priestcraft. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the "religion of the magistrate." Since the Dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points, or modes of dress, incapacitate them from serving their

prince and country, in a juncture when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? And why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture, or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose, in the same light which themselves do, in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are, for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice has given a sanction to, they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes, will certainly tempt them to violate that respect they ought to bear; and at the same time, their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects: it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors; as both Prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late m[inist]ry.

Then from their confessed notions of religion, as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of Dissenters, but the several gradations of freethinkers among us (all which were openly enrolled in their party); nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion, as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring, on

all occasions, the moneyed interest before the landed; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy burthens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives which might compel a prince, under the necessity of affairs, to deliver himself over to that party. They were *said* to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit in the nation, and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies who have the great direction of both: so that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case, it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink credit, though with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to shew, it was a creature of their own.

From this summary of Whig-principles and dispositions, we find what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider, the doctrines of the Tories, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government; so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a sovereign ought, at least, to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people, if only for this reason, because without a due share of power, he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person, nor lawful authority of the prince, ought, upon any pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments, in relation to the Church, are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the Whigs upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too, and add one principle as a characteristic of the Tories, which has much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the Whigs but power enough to insult their sovereign, engross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world, that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the Tories, it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, further than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances; the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty, but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are, in all conditions, exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principles of Whig and Tory; let the reader determine, as he pleases, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs; and whether it were rashness or prudence in her M[ajest]y to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

Numb. 37

FROM THURSDAY APRIL 5, TO THURSDAY APRIL 12, 1711

I WRITE this paper for the sake of the Dissenters, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the Whig party, that professeth Christianity, and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it; the bulk of those we call the Low Church, being generally indifferent, and undetermined in that point; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their scheme. By the Dissenters therefore, it will easily be understood, that I mean the Presbyterians, as they include the sects of

Anabaptists, Independents, and others, which have been melted down into them since the Restoration. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a Rebellion, murder their king, destroy monarchy and the Church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own divisions; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the "dominion of grace"; whereof I have read a remarkable passage, in a book published about the year 1661 and written by one of their own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, whether he thought the cause would revive? He answered, "The cause is in the bosom of Christ, and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also." And therefore the Nonconformists were strictly watched and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of King Charles the Second; the court and kingdom looking on them as a faction, ready to join in any design against the government in Church or State: And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive, who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The Nonconformists were then exactly upon the same foot with our Nonjurors now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches; without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit, because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the Dissenters' complaints of persecution under King Charles the Second; or make them shew us wherein they differed, at that time, from what our Jacobites are now.

Their inclinations to the Church were soon discovered, when King James the Second succeeded to the crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin, to revenge themselves for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign; not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law, was made use of by them and the Papists, and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the Revolution happening soon after, served to wash

away the memory of the rebellion; upon which, the run against Popery, was, no doubt, as just and seasonable as that of fanaticism, after the Restoration: and the dread of Popery, being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that; the Dissenters were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a rebellion, was a Jacobite, and friend to France. This was the more unexpected, because the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it, would be the relieving us from the encroachments of Dissenters, as well as those of Papists, since both had equally confederated towards our ruin; and therefore, when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn; the Dissenters had just made a shift to save a tide, and joined with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector King James. And observing a party, then forming against the old principles in Church and State, under the name of Whigs and Low-Churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued.

It is therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present, from what they were under, when they began their designs against the Church and monarchy, about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party, and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer Reformation in religion, and of advancing the "great work" (as the cant was then) "that God was about to do in these nations," received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the Covenant; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise, and I can hardly

think it worth being of a party, upon the terms they have been received of late years; for suppose the whole faction should at length succeed in their design of destroying the Church; are they so weak to imagine, that the new modelling of religion, would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the Low-Churchmen and Freethinkers, submit to their discipline, their synods or their classes, and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters, among them? How can they help observing that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion, and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates, exactly after the same manner, as they were by King James the Second, made instruments to ruin the Church, not for their sakes, but under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion, to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? For, excepting the anti-monarchical principle, and a few false notions about liberty, I see but little agreement betwixt them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government, that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure, the Presbyterian institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no King but our Saviour Christ, the whole clan of Freethinkers would immediately object, and refuse His authority. Neither would their Low-Church brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole, I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the Dissenters can find better quarter, than from the Church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the Church, they ought not to shew a little decency, and how far it consists with their reputation, to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present most Christian king, to assist the Turk against the Emperor: policy, and reasons of state, were not allowed sufficient excuses, for taking part with an infidel against a believer. It is one of the Dissenters'

quarrels against the Church, that she is not enough reformed from Popery; yet they boldly entered into a league with Papists and a popish prince, to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with libertines and atheists, to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the Dissenters join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a "stiff-necked and rebellious people"?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose: the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the Dissenters, seem to be at an end; their comrades, the Whigs and Freethinkers, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the Parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the Whigs in general, seems at present to be: the nation has had enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the Dissenters have no game left, at present, but to secure their indulgence: in order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some advice.

First, That until some late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority, as there is now against them, nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies, but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity: I have shewn, they could have got no advantage if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it, by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due respect to the persons she is

pleased to trust at present with her affairs: When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them, what is left but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Though there be no law (beside that of God Almighty) against *occasional conformity*, it would be prudence in the Dissenters to use it as tenderly as they can: for, besides the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment has more power than the love of unity.

In the last place, I am humbly of opinion, That the Dissenters would do well to drop that lesson they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the Tories are in the interests of the Pretender, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world, that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those, who alone stood in the gap against all the encroachments of Popery and arbitrary power, are not more likely to keep out both, than a set of schismatics, who to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince, to fall upon such measures, as must, at last, have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

V. Addison. "*The Freeholder*," Nos. 14 and 22

What the Whigs thought of the Tories

HAVING thus far conſidered the political faith of the party as it regards matters of fact, let us in the next place take a view of it with reſpect to thoſe doctrines which it embraces, and which are the fundamental points whereby they are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe, whom they uſed to repreſent as enemies to the conſtitution in Church and State. How far their great articles of political faith, with reſpect to our eccleſiaſtical and civil government, are conſiſtent with themſelves and agreeable to reaſon and truth, may be ſeen in the following paradoxes, which are the eſſentials of a Tory's creed, with relation to political matters. Under the Name of Tories, I do not here comprehend multitudes of well-deſigning men, who were formerly included under that denomination, but are now in the intereſt of his Majeſty [George I, 1715] and the preſent government. Theſe have already ſeen the evil tendency of ſuch principles, which are the Credenda of the party, as it is oppoſite to that of the Whigs.

Article I

That the church of *England* will be always in danger, till it has a Popiſh King for its Defender.

II

That for the ſafety of the church, no ſubject ſhould be tolerated in any religion different from the eſtabliſhed; but that the Head of our church may be of that religion which is moſt repugnant to it.

III

That the Proteſtant intereſt in this nation, and in all *Europe*, could not but flouriſh under the protection of one, who thinks himſelf obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

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For the honour of his Majeſty, and the ſafety of his Government, we cannot but obſerve, that thoſe, who have appeared the greateſt enemies to both, are of that rank of men, who are commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of Fox-hunters. As ſeveral of theſe have had no part of their education in cities, camps, or courts, it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or uſe to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlaſting reproach to politicks, ſhould ſuch men be able to overturn an eſtabliſhment which has been formed by the wiſeſt laws, and is ſupported by the ableſt heads. The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave to many of theſe country-gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed, are not eaſy to be conceived by a perſon who has never converſed with him.

That I may give my readers an image of theſe rural ſtateſmen, I ſhall, without farther preface, ſet down an account of a diſcourſe I chanced to have with one of them ſome time ago. I was travelling towards one of the remoteſt parts of *England*, when about three o'clock in the afternoon, ſeeing a country gentleman trotting before me with a ſpaniel by his horſe's ſide, I made up to him. Our converſation opened, as uſual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous, having both agreed that it was too dry for the ſeaſon of the Year. My fellow-traveller, upon this, obſerved to me, there had been no good weather ſince the Revolution. I was a little ſtartled at ſo extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they uſed to have in King *Charles* the Second's reign. I only anſwered, that I did not ſee how the badneſs of the weather could be the King's fault; and, without waiting for his reply, aſked him, whoſe houſe it was we ſaw upon a riſing ground at a little diſtance from us. He told me it belonged to an old fanatical cur, Mr. Such-a-one, 'You muſt have heard of him,' ſays he, 'he is one 'of the rump.' I knew the gentleman's character upon hearing his name, but aſſured him, that to my knowledge he was a good churchman: ay! ſays he with a kind of ſurpriſe, 'we are told in the country, that he ſpoke twice in the Queen's 'time againſt taking off the duties upon *French* claret.' This naturally led us into the proceedings of late Parliaments, upon

which occaſion he affirmed roundly, that there had not been one good law paſſed ſince King *William*'s acceſſion to the Throne, except the act for preſerving the Game. I had a mind to ſee him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him. 'Is it not hard,' ſays he, 'that honeſt gentlemen ſhould 'be taken into cuſtody of meſſengers to prevent them from 'acting according to their conſciences? But,' ſays he, 'what 'can we expect when a parcel of factious ſons of whores'— He was going on in great paſſion, but chanced to miſs his dog, who was amuſing himſelf about a buſh that grew at ſome diſtance behind us. We ſtood ſtill until he had whiſtled him up; when he fell into a long panegyrick upon his ſpaniel, who ſeemed indeed excellent in his kind: But I found the moſt remarkable adventure of his life was, that he had once like to have worried a diſſenting-teacher. The maſter could hardly ſit on his horſe for laughing all the while he was giving me the particulars of this ſtory, which I found had mightily endeared his dog to him, and, as he himſelf told me, had made him a great favourite among all the honeſt gentlemen of the country. We were at length diverted from this piece of mirth by a poſt-boy, who winding his horn at us, my companion gave him two or three curſes, and left the way clear for him. 'I fancy,' ſaid I, 'that poſt brings news from *Scotland*. I ſhall long to ſee the 'next *Gazette*.' 'Sir,' ſays he, 'I make it a rule never to believe 'any of your printed news. We never ſee, Sir, how things go, 'except now and then in *Dyer*'s letter, and I read that more 'for the ſtile than the news. The man has a clever pen it muſt 'be owned. But is it not ſtrange that we ſhould be making war 'upon Church of *England* men, with *Dutch* and *Swiſs* ſoldiers, 'men of antimonarchical principles? Theſe foreigners will 'never be loved in *England*, Sir; they have not that wit and 'good breeding that we have.' I muſt confeſs, I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himſelf upon theſe qualifications; but finding him ſuch a critick upon foreigners, I aſked him, if he had ever travelled? He told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horſe, to jabber *French*, and to talk againſt paſſive obedience: To which he added, that he ſcarce ever knew a Traveller in his life who had not forſook his principles, and

loſt his hunting-ſeat. 'For my part,' ſays he, 'I and my father 'before me have always been for paſſive-obedience, and ſhall 'be always for oppoſing a Prince who makes uſe of miniſters 'that are of another opinion. But where do you intend to inn 'to night? (for we were now come in ſight of the next town) 'I can help you to a very good landlord, if you will go along 'with me. He is a luſty jolly fellow, that lives well, at leaſt 'three yards in the girth, and the beſt Church of *England* man 'upon the road.' I had the curioſity to ſee this high church inn-keeper, as well as to enjoy more of the converſation of my fellow-traveller, and therefore readily conſented to ſet our horſes together for that night. As we rode ſide by ſide through the town, I was let into the characters of all the principal inhabitants whom we met in our way. One was a dog, another a whelp, another a cur, and another the ſon of a bitch, under which ſeveral denominations were comprehended all that voted on the Whig ſide in the laſt election of burgeſſes. As for thoſe of his own party, he diſtinguiſhed them by a nod of his head, and aſking them, how they did by their Chriſtian names. Upon our arrival at the inn, my companion fetched out the jolly landlord, who knew him by his whiſtle. Many endearments and private whiſpers paſſed between them; though it was eaſy to ſee, by the landlord's ſcratching his head, that things did not go to their wiſhes. The landlord had ſwelled his body to a prodigious ſize, and worked up his complexion to a ſtanding crimſon by his zeal for the proſperity of the Church, which he expreſſed every hour of the day, as his cuſtomers dropped in, by repeated bumpers. He had not time to go to church himſelf, but, as my friend told me in my ear, had headed a mob at the pulling down of two or three meeting houſes. While ſupper was preparing, he enlarged upon the happineſs of the neighbouring ſhire; 'for,' ſays he, 'there is 'ſcarce a Preſbyterian in the whole county, except the 'Biſhop.' In ſhort, I found by his diſcourſe that he had learned a great deal of politicks, but not one word of religion, from the Parſon of his pariſh; and indeed, that he had ſcarce any other notion of religion, but that it conſiſted in hating Preſbyterians. I had a remarkable inſtance of his notions in this particular. Upon ſeeing a poor decrepit old woman paſs under the window

where he ſat, he deſired me to take notice of her; and afterwards informed me, that ſhe was generally reputed a witch by the country people, but that, for his part, he was apt to believe, ſhe was a Preſbyterian.

Supper was no ſooner ſerved in, than he took occaſion, from a ſhoulder of mutton that lay before us, to cry up the plenty of *England*, which would be the happieſt country in the world, provided we would live within ourſelves. Upon which, he expatiated upon the inconveniencies of trade, that carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upſtarts, as rich as men of the moſt ancient families of *England*. He then declared frankly, that he had always been againſt all treaties and alliances with foreigners. 'Our wooden walls,' ſays he, 'are our ſecurity, and we may bid defiance to the whole 'world, eſpecially, if they ſhould attack us when the militia 'is out.' I ventured to reply, that I had as great an opinion of the *Engliſh* fleet as he had; but I could not ſee how they could be paid, and manned, and fitted out, unleſs we encouraged trade and navigation. He replied, with ſome vehemence, that he would undertake to prove trade would be the ruin of the *Engliſh* nation. I would fain have put him upon it, but he contented himſelf with affirming it more eagerly, to which he added two or three curſes upon the *London* Merchants, not forgetting the Directors of the *Bank*. After ſupper, he aſked me, if I was an admirer of punch; and immediately called for a ſneaker. I took this occaſion to inſinuate the advantages of trade, by obſerving to him, that water was the only native of *England* that could be made uſe of on this occaſion: But that the lemons, the brandy, the ſugar, and the nutmeg, were all foreigners. This put him into ſome confuſion; but the landlord, who overheard me, brought him off, by affirming, that for conſtant uſe there was no liquor like a cup of *Engliſh* water, provided it had malt enough in it. My ſquire laughed heartily at the conceit, and made the landlord ſit down with us. We ſat pretty late over our punch; and amidſt a great deal of improving diſcourſe, drank the healths of ſeveral perſons in the country, whom I had never heard of, that, they both aſſured me, were the ableſt ſtateſmen in the nation: And of ſome *Londoners*, whom they extolled to the ſkies, for their wit, and

who, I knew, paſſed in town for ſilly fellows. It being now midnight, and my friend perceiving by his almanack, that the moon was up, he called for his horſes, and took a ſudden reſolution to go to his houſe, which was at three miles diſtance from the town, after having bethought himſelf, that he never ſlept well out of his own bed. He ſhook me very heartily by the hand at parting, and diſcovered a great air of ſatisfaction in his looks, that he had met with an opportunity of ſhewing his parts, and left me a much wiſer man than he found me.

VI. "*The Spectator*"

Sir Roger at Church and in the Hunting Field

ADDISON'S famous portrait of the country gentleman, Sir Roger de Coverley, appeared in *The Spectator* in 1711. It may be compared to his portrait of the "Fox-hunter" in the last piece, as representing another and a superior variation of the genus "squire." No. 112, Sir Roger at Church, is by Addison; No. 116, Sir Roger hunting, is by Addison's nephew Budgell, but probably helped by his uncle.

No. 112 [Addison] Monday, July 9

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς, νόμῳ ὡς διάκειται,
Τίμα. Pyth.

I AM always very well pleased with a Country *Sunday*; and think, if keeping holy the Seventh Day were only a human Inſtitution, it would be the beſt Method that could have been thought of for the poliſhing and civilizing of Mankind. It is certain the Country-People would ſoon degenerate into a kind of Savages and Barbarians, were there not ſuch frequent Returns of a ſtated Time, in which the whole Village meet together with their beſt Faces, and in their cleanlieſt Habits, to converſe with one another upon indifferent Subjects, hear their Duties explained to them, and join together in Adoration of the ſupreme Being. *Sunday* clears away the

Rust of the whole Week, not only as it refreshes in their Minds the Notions of Religion, but as it puts both the Sexes upon appearing in their most agreeable Forms, and exerting all such Qualities as are apt to give them a Figure in the Eye of the Village. A Country-Fellow distinguishes himself as much in the *Church-yard*, as a Citizen does upon the *Change*; the whole Parish-Politicks being generally discuss'd in that Place either after Sermon or before the Bell rings.

My Friend Sir ROGER being a good Church-man, has beautified the Inside of his Church with several Texts of his own chusing: He has likewise given a handsome Pulpit-Cloth, and railed in the Communion-Table at his own Expence. He has often told me, that at his coming to his Estate he found his Parishioners very irregular; and that in order to make them kneel and join in the Responses, he gave every one of them a Hassock and a Common-prayer Book: and at the same Time employed an itinerant Singing-Master, who goes about the Country for that Purpose, to instruct them rightly in the Tunes of the Psalms; upon which they now very much value themselves, and indeed out-do most of the Country Churches that I have ever heard.

As Sir ROGER is Landlord to the whole Congregation, he keeps them in very good Order, and will suffer no Body to sleep in it besides himself; for if by Chance he has been surprized into a short Nap at Sermon, upon recovering out of it he stands up and looks about him, and if he sees any Body else nodding, either wakes them himself, or sends his Servants to them. Several other of the old Knight's Particularities break out upon these Occasions: Sometimes he will be lengthening out a Verse in the Singing-Psalms, half a Minute after the rest of the Congregation have done with it; sometimes, when he is pleased with the Matter of his Devotion, he pronounces *Amen* three or four times to the same Prayer; and sometimes stands up when every Body else is upon their Knees, to count the Congregation, or see if any of his Tenants are missing.

I was Yesterday very much surprized to hear my old Friend, in the Midst of the Service, calling out to one *John Matthews* to mind what he was about, and not disturb the Congregation. This *John Matthews* it seems is remarkable for being an idle

Fellow, and at that Time was kicking his Heels for his Diversion. This Authority of the Knight, though exerted in that odd Manner which accompanies him in all Circumstances of Life, has a very good Effect upon the Parish, who are not polite enough to see any thing ridiculous in his Behaviour; besides that, the general good Sense and Worthiness of his Character, make his Friends observe these little Singularities as Foils that rather set off than blemish his good Qualities.

As soon as the Sermon is finished, no Body presumes to stir till Sir ROGER is gone out of the Church. The Knight walks down from his Seat in the Chancel between a double Row of his Tenants, that stand bowing to him on each Side; and every now and then enquires how such an one's Wife, or Mother, or Son, or Father do whom he does not see at Church; which is understood as a secret Reprimand to the Person that is absent.

The Chaplain has often told me, that upon a Catechizing-day, when Sir ROGER has been pleased with a Boy that answers well, he has ordered a Bible to be given him next Day for his Encouragement; and sometimes accompanies it with a Flitch of Bacon to his Mother. Sir ROGER has likewise added five Pounds a Year to the Clerk's Place; and that he may encourage the young Fellows to make themselves perfect in the Church-Service, has promised upon the Death of the present Incumbent, who is very old, to bestow it according to Merit.

The fair Understanding between Sir ROGER and his Chaplain, and their mutual Concurrence in doing Good, is the more remarkable, because the very next Village is famous for the Differences and Contentions that rise between the Parson and the 'Squire, who live in a perpetual State of War. The Parson is always preaching at the 'Squire, and the 'Squire to be revenged on the Parson never comes to Church. The 'Squire has made all his Tenants Atheists and Tithe-Stealers; while the Parson instructs them every *Sunday* in the Dignity of his Order, and insinuates to them in almost every Sermon, that he is a better Man than his Patron. In short, Matters are come to such an Extremity, that the 'Squire has not said his Prayers either in publick or private this half Year; and that

the Parson threatens him, if he does not mend his Manners, to pray for him in the Face of the whole Congregation.

Feuds of this Nature, though too frequent in the Country, are very fatal to the ordinary People; who are so used to be dazled with Riches, that they pay as much Deference to the Understanding of a Man of an Estate, as of a Man of Learning; and are very hardly brought to regard any Truth, how important soever it may be, that is preached to them, when they know there are several Men of five hundred a Year who do not believe it.

No. 116 [Budgell] Friday, July 13

—— Vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron,
Taygetique canes—— Virg.

AFTER what has been said, I need not inform my Readers, that Sir ROGER, with whose Character I hope they are at present pretty well acquainted, has in his Youth gone through the whole Course of those rural Diversions which the Country abounds in; and which seem to be extremely well suited to that laborious Industry a Man may observe here in a far greater Degree than in Towns and Cities. I have before hinted at some of my Friend's Exploits: He has in his youthful Days taken forty Coveys of Partridges in a Season; and tired many a Salmon with a Line consisting but of a single Hair. The constant Thanks and good Wishes of the Neighbourhood always attended him, on Account of his remarkable Enmity towards Foxes; having destroyed more of those Vermin in one Year, than it was thought the whole Country could have produced. Indeed the Knight does not scruple to own among his most intimate Friends, that in order to establish his Reputation this Way, he has secretly sent for great Numbers of them out of other Counties, which he used to turn loose about the Country by Night, that he might the better signalize himself in their Destruction the next Day. His Hunting-Horses were the finest and best managed in all these Parts: His Tenants are still full of the Praises of a grey Stone-horse that unhappily staked himself several Years since, and was buried with great Solemnity in the Orchard.

Sir ROGER, being at present too old for Fox-hunting; to keep himself in Action, has disposed of his Beagles and got a Pack of *Stop-Hounds*. What these want in Speed, he endeavours to make Amends for by the Deepness of their Mouths and the Variety of their Notes, which are suited in such Manner to each other, that the whole Cry makes up a compleat Consort. He is so nice in this Particular, that a Gentleman having made him a Present of a very fine Hound the other Day, the Knight return'd it by the Servant with a great many Expressions of Civility; but desired him to tell his Master, that the Dog he had sent was indeed a most excellent *Base*, but that at present he only wanted a *Counter-Tenor*. Could I believe my Friend had ever read *Shakespear*, I should certainly conclude he had taken the Hint from *Theseus* in *the Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

My Hounds are bred out of the Spartan *Kind,*
So flu'd, so sanded; and their Heads are hung
With Ears that sweep away the Morning Dew.
Crook-Knee'd and dew-lap'd like Thessalian *Bulls;*
Slow in Pursuit, but match'd in Mouths like Bells,
Each under each: A Cry more tuneable
Was never hallow'd to, nor chear'd with Horn.

Sir ROGER is so keen at this Sport, that he has been out almost every Day since I came down; and upon the Chaplain's offering to lend me his easy Pad, I was prevail'd on Yesterday Morning to make one of the Company. I was extremely pleas'd, as we rid along, to observe the general Benevolence of all the Neighbourhood towards my Friend. The Farmers' Sons thought themselves happy if they could open a Gate for the good old Knight as he passed by; which he generally requited with a Nod or a Smile, and a kind Inquiry after their Fathers and Uncles.

After we had rid about a Mile from home, we came upon a large Heath, and the Sports-men began to beat. They had done so for some time, when, as I was at a little Distance from the rest of the Company, I saw a Hare pop out from a small Furze-brake almost under my Horse's Feet. I marked the Way she took, which I endeavoured to make the Company sensible of by extending my Arm; but to no purpose, till Sir ROGER, who knows that none of my extraordinary Motions

are insignificant, rode up to me, and asked me *if Puss was gone that Way?* Upon my answering *Yes* he immediately call'd in the Dogs, and put them upon the Scent. As they were going off, I heard one of the Country-Fellows muttering to his Companion, *That 'twas a Wonder they had not lost all their Sport, for want of the silent Gentleman's crying STOLE AWAY.*

This, with my Aversion to leaping Hedges, made me withdraw to a rising Ground, from whence I could have the Pleasure of the whole Chase, without the Fatigue of keeping in with the Hounds. The Hare immediately threw them above a Mile behind her; but I was pleased to find, that instead of running straight forwards, or, in Hunter's Language, *Flying the Country*, as I was afraid she might have done, she wheeled about, and described a sort of Circle round the Hill where I had taken my Station, in such Manner as gave me a very distinct View of the Sport. I could see her first pass by, and the Dogs some Time afterwards unravelling the whole Track she had made, and following her thro' all her Doubles. I was at the same Time delighted in observing that Deference which the rest of the Pack paid to each particular Hound, according to the Character he had acquired amongst them: If they were at a Fault, and an old Hound of Reputation opened but once, he was immediately follow'd by the whole Cry; while a raw Dog, or one who was a noted *Liar*, might have yelped his Heart out, without being taken Notice of.

The Hare now, after having squatted two or three Times, and been put up again as often, came still nearer to the Place where she was at first started. The Dogs pursued her, and these were followed by the jolly Knight, who rode upon a white Gelding, encompassed by his Tenants and Servants, and chearing his Hounds with all the Gaiety of Five and Twenty. One of the Sports-men rode up to me, and told me that he was sure the Chase was almost at an End, because the old Dogs, which had hitherto lain behind, now headed the Pack. The Fellow was in the Right. Our Hare took a large Field just under us, follow'd by the full Cry *in View*. I must confess the Brightness of the Weather, the Chearfulness of every thing around me, the *Chiding* of the Hounds, which was returned upon us in a double Eccho from two neighbouring Hills, with

the Hollowing of the Sports-men, and the Sounding of the Horn, lifted my Spirits into a most lively Pleasure, which I freely indulged because I was sure it was *innocent*. If I was under any Concern, it was on the Account of the poor Hare, that was now quite spent, and almost within the Reach of her Enemies; when the Hunts-man getting forward, threw down his Pole before the Dogs. They were now within eight Yards of that Game which they had been pursuing for almost as many Hours; yet on the Signal before-mentioned they all made a sudden Stand, and tho' they continued opening as much as before, durst not once attempt to pass beyond the Pole. At the same Time Sir ROGER rode forward, and alighting, took up the Hare in his Arms; which he soon after delivered to one of his Servants, with an Order, if she could be kept alive, to let her go in his great Orchard, where, it seems, he has several of these Prisoners of War, who live together in a very comfortable Captivity. I was highly pleased to see the Discipline of the Pack, and the Good-nature of the Knight, who could not find in his Heart to murder a Creature that had given him so much Diversion.

III

GIBRALTAR

GIBRALTAR

THESE accounts of the capture of Gibraltar in August 1704 and its heroic defence in the following winter and spring against the efforts of the French and Spanish to recover it, should be studied with chapters XXXI and XXXII of Julian Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, where the whole affair is admirably told in relation to the political and naval strategy of the war in that region. The capture and retention of Gibraltar was an outcome of the Treaty with Portugal in 1703 and the consequent securing of Lisbon as a naval base for our fleets.

The first document (Add. MSS. 28058) from the Godolphin MSS. in the British Museum, is an anonymous report on the value of Gibraltar sent probably to Godolphin shortly before its capture was attempted. It is to be noted that the writer declares Gibraltar to be a more suitable object of attack than Cadiz, because the interest of English and Dutch merchants in the Cadiz trade is so great. A very feeble attempt to take Cadiz had been made by Sir George Rooke and the English and Dutch fleets in 1702. This is referred to in the second document printed here, the letter of August 18, 1704, from Methuen, the British Ambassador to Portugal, commenting on the capture of Gibraltar. Methuen, who thoroughly understood the situation, "sollicits earnestly" the proper garrisoning of the newly taken place.

The English seamen in close touch with home use the Old Style of dating, eleven days behind the New Style of the Continent, used by Marlborough writing from Flanders and Germany.

I. *Godolphin Papers*

(B.M. Add. MSS. 28058, f. 31)

A Report on Gibraltar

GIBRALTAR and Ceuta make the very mouth of the Mediterranean, the first, viz. Gibraltar may be taken and afterwards kept easier than Cadiz, for it is but badly fortifyed and may

quickly be made an island; and Ceuta must soon fall for want of provisions from Spain. The Bay of Gibraltar is capable of holding as many, and as big ships as that of Cadiz, and being in the very passage may much better hinder ships and galleys passing into and out of the Straits than at so great a distance as Cadiz is. Besides the bombing or pretending to take Cadiz will fright the commerce to Sevilla, to the prejudice of all other natives [nationals], especially English and Dutch, because of the freedom of the port and the great conveniency there is of shipping off gold and silver in time of peace. For if the commerce is once removed it won't easily be returned. And the people of Spain in general will be more affected by the loss of Gibraltar than Cadiz, this [Cadiz] being envied for the many strangers residing in it, and the other [Gibraltar] esteemed the key of the Kdom.

II. *Godolphin Papers*

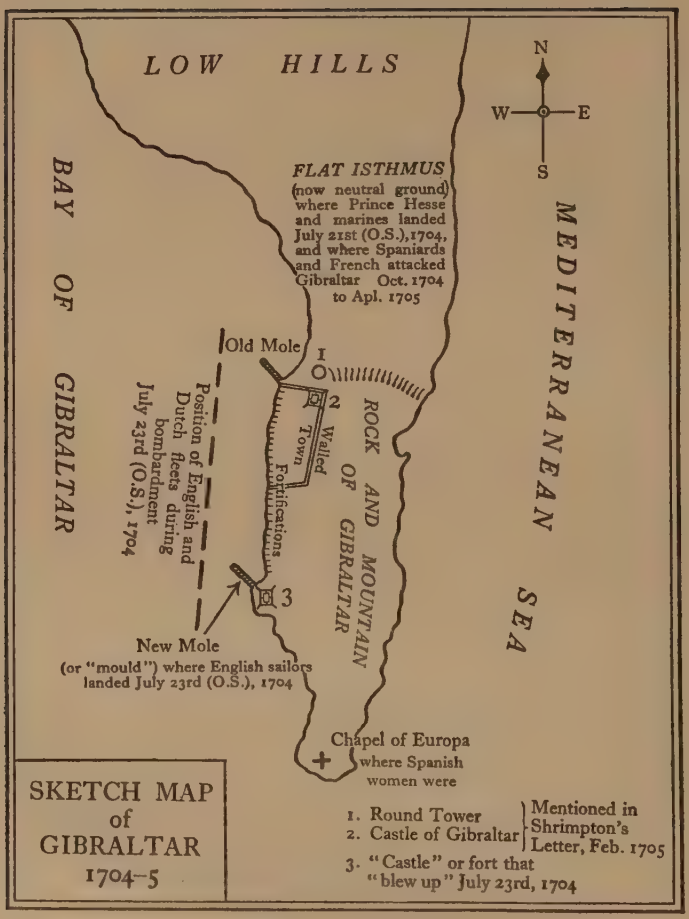
(B.M. Add. MSS. 28056, f. 145)

Methuen to *Godolphin* on the taking of *Gibraltar*

The news of the attacking of Gibraltar was beyond my expectation, but not the taking it when they attempted it. The account Sir G. Rooke gives of the force in it agrees with what I have always wrote, and if credit can be given to all sorts of people of all sorts of nations Cadiz had as little force and wld have surrendered as soon. I find the place is thought tenable and may facilitate the taking of Cadiz, and therefore I sollicit earnestly the sending a garrison to it. I hear every Spaniard hath left the place and am afraid care could not be taken to hinder the plundering.

III. *Torrington Memoirs. Taking of Gibraltar*

It will be seen from the following first-hand account of the capture of Gibraltar, from the Memoirs relating to Lord Torrington, *edited by J. K. Laughton for the Camden Society*, 1889, *that the taking of the place was a comparatively easy affair, in the absence of any adequate garrison. The chief obstacle was the initial difficulty of inducing the somewhat unenterprising*


LOW HILLS
N
W
E
S
FLAT ISTHMUS
(now neutral ground)
where Prince Hesse
and marines landed
July 21st (O.S.), 1704,
and where Spaniards
and French attacked
Gibraltar Oct. 1704
to Apl. 1705
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF GIBRALTAR
Old Mole
1
2
Walled Town
Fortifications
ROCK AND MOUNTAIN OF GIBRALTAR
Position of English and Dutch fleets during bombardment July 23rd (O.S.), 1704
3
New Mole
(or "mould") where English sailors
landed July 23rd (O.S.), 1704
Chapel of Europa
where Spanish
women were
SKETCH MAP
of
GIBRALTAR
1704–5
1. Round Tower
2. Castle of Gibraltar
Mentioned in Shrimpton's Letter, Feb. 1705
3. "Castle" or fort that
"blew up" July 23rd, 1704

British admiral to make the attempt. The "rock" does not come into the story, for the town with its old Spanish and Moorish fortifications lay along the shore at the foot of the rock between the two moles (or "moulds"); there were then no effective batteries in the rock itself. In the whole operation resulting in the capture of Gibraltar no one went up on to the mountain and rock behind the town.

The dates in the margin of this narrative are the Old Style then generally used by the English. Add eleven days to obtain the usual European Calendar.

. . . and as he [Sir George Rooke] was plying under the Barbary coast, he received letters from Mr. Methuen, the English ambassador at Lisbon, of the 10 and 17 of July, with the proposals made by the Kings of Spain and Portugal for attempting Cadiz; as also letters from the Prince of Hesse. Upon which July 17. [O.S.] he called a council of war of the admiralls of the fleet, where, they being considered, it was concluded that to attempt Cadiz with any prospect of success, without an army to cooperate with the fleet, was impracticable. But, that the fleet might not remain unactive, the attacking of Gibraltar was proposed; which was lightly thought of by many at the council; of which number was Admirall Byng. But Sir George Rooke replyed, that place shoud not only be besieged, but that he shoud comand the attack; to which Admirall Byng replied in a manner consistant with a soldier on whom he bestowed a mark of his favour; tho' it is thought Sir George meant as he spoke it in a pique. Then they came to a resolution to land the English and Dutch marines in the Bay of Gibraltar under the comand of the Prince of Hesse, to cut of any communication of that town with the main; and at the same time bombard and cannonade the place from the ships, and use their endeavours to reduce it to the King of Spain's obedience.

* * * * * *

The fleet was now in Tetuan Bay on the Barbary coast, July 19. when Sir George Rooke sent Admirall Byng orders to take with him a squadron of 11 English and 6 Dutch ships under Rear-admirall Vanderdussen, and 3 bomb ships, and proceed with them into Gibraltar Bay; and upon advice he shoud

receive from the Prince of Hesse, to bring them before the town and reduce it by cannonading and bombarding. Then the marines of his squadron were put into the other ships of the fleet, that in case the winds shoud continue westerly they might all land together on the east side of Gibraltar Bay, and
July 20. land the marines there between the windmills and the river.

* * * * * *

July 21. The next morning, the wind springing up easterly, the whole fleet stood in the bay likewise, and that afternoon came there. Admirall Byng was with his squadron before the town, and Sir George Rooke, with the rest of the fleet, anchored from him in the bite of the bay towards the river. When Admirall Byng anchored, the town fired, but the shot went over them; yet the mainmast of his own ship was wounded; and having orders not to attack the town before the Prince of Hesse had sent a summons in and an answer was returned, he ordered the ships with him to warp a little further out. In about an hour after the fleet came to an anchor, the signall was made to land the marines; which was done without any more opposition than that a party of about 50 horse went out of the town, and marched down to the place where they landed, and made an effort as if they woud make some opposition; but upon the fire of the grenadiers that first landed, they retired into the town, with the loss of one trooper only. The marines then marched in good order to the mills, that are within shot of the north part of the town; and, posting themselves, the Prince of Hesse, who commanded them, sent a summons to the town to declare
July 22. for King Charles 3d. But no answer returning that night nor the next by break of day, Admirall Byng made a signal in the morning for the squadron to draw into a line before the town, according to the manner he had before directed; which was to anchor near to one another as conveniently they coud; and no ship was to leave the line, tho' disabled, before he was acquainted with it. Accordingly they proceeded to their station before the town by warping. It being then calm, the town kept firing on them now and then, while the governor sent his answer to the Prince of Hesse that he woud defend the town to the last as loyall soldiers for King Philip the 5th, to whom they had sworn fealty. When Sir George Rooke was ac-

quainted with this answer, he sent five ships more to Admirall Byng, whose squadron now consisted of 22, which were disposed of in a line as near as possible they coud be from the head of the new mold, which is to the southward of the town, to the old mould and to the northward of it; the English to the southward of it, and the Dutch to the northward. He placed two of the bomb ships with the Dutch, the other without his own ship; in which form, such ships as were near kept warping all the next night, sending their boats to sound before; and those ships that were more out sailed with the land breeze, and early in the morning most of them had placed themselves pretty regularly. In the night, Sir George Rooke sent Capt. Whitaker with some boats mann'd, arm'd and with fireworks, within the old mould, to burn a French privateer or merchant ship that lay there; and while he performed that service, Admirall Byng at the same time, to amuse the ennemy, ordered the bombs to play into the town, which had some effect. The next morning, as soon as it was day, seeing that July 23. some of the ships coud not get into the line as directed, he ordered them to place themselves in the best manner they coud where they saw an intervall, which they did as well as the nature of the place permitted; there being deep water off the new mould, but shoaler to the northward of the old mold and midle of the town, where his ship the Ranelaugh went in so near that at low water she lay in less than 3 fathom and $\frac{1}{2}$, tho' she drew but one quarter more. About 5 in the morning the town began to fire at the ships; upon which Admirall Byng made the signall to begin to cannonade, and for the bomb ships to play; which they did with so furious a fire that the frightened inhabitants run out of the town up the hill. Yet Admirall Byng observing the smoak was so great that the object to fire at coud not be so true, he sent orders along the line to forbear firing all they coud, only now and then firing their lower tier, as being best for battery, and to forbear altogether firing their upper tier and small guns; and about noon he directed a general cessation, that he might see what effect their firing had. These orders he sent by Capt. Edward Whitaker who was then on board him; and who being in the Lenox (that lay nearest in with the mould), observed, as did

Capt. Jumper who commanded her, that severall of the cannon of castle and batteries over the new mould were dismounted, and thought the men beat from their guns, which had been silent for some time. Capt. Whitaker then returned to Admirall Byng with their observation, and opinion that with the boats manned and armed they might take possession of those fortifications. Thereupon he made imediately the signall for the boats of the line, sending Whitaker at the same time to Sir George Rooke, to desire that the remaining boats of the fleet manned and armed might be sent him. In the meantime he directed the boats that were with him to the southward of the mould head, under the comand of Capt. Hicks, the senior officer; and he was to employ them in taking possession and reducing the place if it was practicable; if not, to order the boats to their respective ships. Not long after, Capt. Whitaker returned from Sir George Rook with a letter to Admirall Byng, for his comanding the attack and the men designed to be landed; and with him to send such other captains as he thought fit. Accordingly Capt. Byng ordered Capt. Whitaker, and with him Capts. Fairfax, Roffey, Mighells, and Acton, with the men sent in the boats, to attack the new mould, castle and fortifications adjoyning; and in case he shoud become master of them, he was to endeavour to lodge himself and make good his possession of them. But before he could get to the shoar with the boats Sir George Rook had sent, Capts. Hicks and Jumper were gone with those they had got together in persuance of Admirall Byng's former orders to them; who as they were rowing to the shoar perceived a great number of priests, women and children (that to avoid danger in the town had got out of it, and were to the southward towards the chappell of Our Lady of Europa, and who now saw the boats going to land), making all haste possible into the town again; and being by the narrow passage of the rock, Sir Clodesly Shovell, then on board Admirall Byng's ship, desired our cannon to be fired that way, to frighten them back again; which as soon as was done they all ran away to the Convent of Our Lady again. The firing of this gun was likewise taken by all the rest of the ships for a signal to begin again; so they renewed their fire upon the town, under the

cover of which the sailors landed on the new mould, and marched up to attack the castle and fortifications. Lieutenant Davenport went with about 30 men to the left of the covered way, and at the breach that was made got over to the eastward of the castle, while the main number that landed went up the covered way under the bastion, and finding the gates shut and the draw bridge up, mounted on the wall and pallasadoes that joined the gate, clambering over every thing in their way with great valour and much more courage than prudence. But when many were got over the paliasodes and were mounting, the castle blew up; the blast and fall of which killed and wounded, it is thought near 100 men, and Mr. Master, his own leftenant and brother in law, was much hurt in the leg. It is very uncertain if this was done by a train laid to the magazines by the Spaniards, or by some accident; for there was some Spaniards in the fort who met the same fate as the English had. This, however, so much discouraged the sailors that, apprehending more mines, made the best of their way down to the boats. By this time, as some were going off and the rest going down to do so, Capt. Whitaker met them with his boats, turned them back, and marching up without oposition, he took possession of the remaining part of the castle and bastion adjoining. He then marched further on and took the redoubt half way between the new mould and the town, planting there the union-jack; then marching to view the grounds, he found no opposition, so posted his men well to defend the ground they had possession of. As soon as Admirall Byng saw they were landed and had possession of the works, he strengthened them by sending more men and desired another supply of Sir George Rooke, and ordered Captain Whitaker to secure himself in the strongest places untill he was suported with more force; and that he should send an intelligble officer to give him an account of his proceedings; and, being in want of boats, directed him to send as many as he coud spare and what others coud be got from the line, in order to supply him with men. Then Admirall Byng went on board Sir George Rooke, when it was concluded Admirall Byng should send in a sumons to the town by a drum at the south gate, from his camp of sailors; and that the Prince of Hesse be acquainted therewith

and desired to summons the town in the name of the King of Spain, from his camp of marines. Upon receiving these orders he [Byng] went imediately ashoar to the seamen's camp, and after sending a sumons to the governor in the manner agreed on, he went to view the posts, and ordered the out-guards and sentinells not to suffer any person to pass to the chapell of our Lady of Europa, wherein was many of the most considerable women of the town, priests and others, to prevent any rudeness and insult they might otherwise receive. In the evening the governor sent back the drum sent by Admirall Byng with answer, That he would deliver up the town, and the next morning send hostages and capitulate on terms that were
July 24. promised him should be honourable. The next morning Admirall Byng went to the Prince of Hesse's camp to acquaint him with what had been done, the manner of their encampment, and the posts they were in to the southward of the town. While he was with the Prince, the governor of the town sent out hostages, in order to capitulate, and Admirall Byng by them was desired that the women in his possession might be kept from the rudeness of the sailors, and to release them. This seems to have been one of the greatest inducements of the citizens towards a capitulation, being very apprehensive that some injuries might be offered them. Admirall Byng assured them that none had been offered to any of them, and acquainted them with the care he had taken to protect them by the guards he had posted for their security, which was a great satisfaction he gave those gentlemen; and after talking to the Prince assured them upon his honour he woud imediately visit the women and carry them himself to the gates of the town; upon the performance of which they promised to deliver up the gate of it next to the camp of the Prince of Hesse; and then the articles of capitulation for a surender were agreed upon with the governor, and are as follows:—

1. That the garrison, both officers and souldiers, may depart with their arms and necessary baggage; and the souldiers to have what they can carry on their shouldiers. The officers and gentlemen of the town may carry their horses with them, and may have boats to carry their things if they shoud have occasion for them.

2. That they may take out of the garrison three peicees of brass canon of different natures, with 12 charges of powder and ball.

3. That they may take provision of bred, wine, and flesh for 6 days march.

4. That none of the officers' baggage be searched, altho' it be in chests or trunks, and that the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with them may be sent for, and that they be permitted to have some carts.

5. That such inhabitants of the citty as are willing to remain have the same priviledges they enjoyed in the time of Charles 2d, and their rights and religion to remain untouched, upon condition that they shall take an oath of fidelity to Charles 3d, their legitime king and master.

6. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder and other amunition or provisions or arms that may be in the citty.

7. That all the subjects of the French king be excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects to be seised, and their persons to be prisoners of warr.

Upon the signing of these articles the governor delivered up the north gate, bastions, and fortifications of that part of the town, which the Prince of Hesse with the marines took possession of. At the same time Admirall Byng delivered up the women at the south gate, passing by him unvailed. The same evening he embarked the seamen that were encamped, leaving only 200 men in the castle and 50 in the redoute for 2 or 3 days, till relieved by some marines; and he likewise ordered the ships that were before the town to return to their propper flags; and soon after the Spaniards, both garrison and inhabitants, marched all out of the town, except about 20 families.

Thus did the fleet very unexpectedly reduce the town of Gibraltar, very much owing to the gallantry of the sailors, with the loss only of 61 killed and 260 wounded; tho' the furious canonading, in which it is reckoned were fired 1400 shot, had done the town so little damage that it is said orders were sending to draw of the ships and reimbark the men, who

might have met with greater oposition in their landing than they did; and it was looked on as a surprising negligence in the Spaniards to have no more than two Spanish regiments of 40 men each in a garrison of that importance, where there was above 100 guns mounted on the walls, all facing the sea and the two narrow passages of the land.

IV. *Defence of Gibraltar*

October 1704—April 1705

If enterprise was all that was required to capture Gibraltar, heroism was needed to preserve it. The naval action of Malaga in August 1704 *preserved it from immediate recapture* (*see Corbett*, England in the Mediterranean, *pp.* 525–35). *But in the winter and early spring of* 1704–5 *a very inadequate English force of marines, infantry and sailors was called on to defend the fortress against fierce attacks of large Spanish and French armies. These attacks were directed against the northern defences of Gibraltar from the low-lying isthmus. The defence was only successful because Sir John Leake three times in six months relieved the town by arriving in the nick of time with an English squadron wintering at Lisbon. It was impossible for the fleet to winter in Gibraltar Bay. After the third relief in April* 1705 *the French General Tessé raised the long siege* (*see Corbett*, England in the Mediterranean, *pp.* 536–44). *The following dispatch describes one of the numerous crises of a defence which deserves to be remembered along with the more famous defence of Gibraltar by Eliott in* 1779–82.

Brigadier Shrimpton to *Marlborough*

(Coxe Papers, B.M. Add. MSS. 9115, ff. 14–15)

GIBRALTAR, Feb. 3 (O.S.), 1705.—I should not trouble your Grace with writing so often, but that I believe the consequence of the place may justify it. The enemy attacked us this day——at break of day at the round Tower and the breach above it. They began their attack with 500 grenadiers sustained by 1000 spaniards. They carried the Round Tower

and the breach and came over the hill as far as the four gun battery and were possessed of that too which is within 40 paces of the Castle breach which is very easy to enter and that is the last opposition on that side and had they attacked us at the same time on the covert way the north bastion and the curtain*, we should have found it very hard to have kept them out. Our garrison being now not above 1800 men and they so harrassed that they have not half the rest that nature requires, being always at arms or at work. The enemies have had reinforcements of four french battalions and 19 companies of grenadiers. The marshal de Tesse is with them. They threaten us heavily with a general assault which keeps us night and day under arms. My Lord Galway sent a ship here that arrived three days ago and six days in her passage from Lisbon to tell us he is hastening all he can with the rest of those companies that should have come with us, and all but 270 odd men that were taken at our coming here. The ships that bring them take up 500 Portuguese at Lagos. All together they will make about a 1000 men. We pray heartily they may come time enough which if they do we assure ourselves we shall be able to beat the enemy out once more. But if Sir John Lake who stays for Admiral Whelston does not bring out at least 2 full battalions we shall not be able to hold out till the great fleet comes. Our daily loss is 20, 30, and sometimes 40 men a day wounded and killed. The round Tower and breach and another post lying so exposed to the enemys batteries were killed of the enemy in this action as 150 men a good many officers and we hear more wounded and took 40 prisoners and 6 officers. We had a 180 men killed and wounded. I must tell your Grace that our battalion of guards diminishes a pace. We have not above 250 men fit for duty and above 200 wounded and sick They begin to be very ragged with the hard duty and working daily.

* The north bastion and the curtain were near the Round Tower and The Castle, on lower ground, near the Old Mole, see map p. 84 above.

IV

BLENHEIM & RAMILLIES

SECTION FOUR

BLENHEIM AND RAMILLIES

THE following first-hand accounts of the two decisive battles of the war should be studied in connection with the Marlborough Papers in Section v below, and with such modern books as Atkinson's *Marlborough* (Heroes of Nations Series) and the late Frank Taylor's *Wars of Marlborough* (1921), vol. I, where there is an excellent map of the march to the Danube. The New or Continental style of dating is used by all the writers except Col. Blackader, pp. 142–5.

I. *The March to the Danube*, 1704. *Hare's Journal*

THIS account of Marlborough's famous march is taken from the semi-official narrative written by Dr Hare, Marlborough's Chaplain on that campaign, a narrative which Marlborough had himself supervised (Marlborough's Despatches, I, p. 332). *This section, not I think previously printed, is taken from the MSS. in the British Museum, Add. MSS.* 9114. *It describes the days when Marlborough gradually made public to one ally after another his intention of carrying his army to the Danube to conquer Bavaria and save the Empire, a movement for which the march to the half-way-house of the Moselle had been in part a blind. It also illustrates the special care Marlborough took to provide for the health and feeding of his troops, and the advantages he thereby obtained on this difficult march; and his relation to the various German Princes with whom he co-operated or through whose territory he marched. It will be observed that the army passed from the Rhine to the Danube in two sections, the cavalry first, under the Duke; and the infantry and artillery, some days behind, under his brother, General Charles Churchill.*

MAY 20 (N.S.) 1704.—Count Wratislaw and Baron D'Almelo accompanied His Grace to the Elector of Treves's Castle of Erenberstien, over against Coblentz, where having dined with the Elector His Grace marcht thence to Braubach a

Town belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse d'Armstadt where he was join'd by the infantry under the command of General Churchill. And still resolving to advance as fast as possible, he went forward with the Cavalry and gave orders to General Churchill to follow as close as was consistent with the March of the Artillery and heavy baggage thro' that mountainous Country, where one Hill took up a whole days march and could hardly have been ascended in that time but for the Indefatigable care and pains of Colonel Blood and the other Officers Commanding Her Majestys Train of Artillery.

* * * * * *

28th. The next day his Grace ma'ch'd to Swalbach whither Lieutenant General Bulow came to wait upon him and where he received Letters by express from the Prince of Hesse and Lieutenant General Hompetch, that they were at Mayence, attending his Grace Orders. He had also another express from the States General, intimating that they had given Orders for the sending His Grace a Detachment of Seven Battalions and 21 Squadrons from the Army on the Maese....

29—His Grace continued his march to Cassel a village upon the Rhine over against Mayence. He immediately went (accompanied by Lieutenant General Lumley) to make a visit to the Elector and was met at the Landing place, by several of His Highnesses Coaches which attended there, to conduct His Grace and his retinue to the Palace. After having Dined with his Electoral Highness, a Councill was held with the Generals about the further motions of the Army. And as in the project that had been laid for acting upon the Moselle, The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had agreed to furnish a certain proportion of heavy Cannon, the Duke of Marlborough now represented to his Highness the imminent danger with which the Empire was threatened and particularly the sad Condition of his Imperial Majesties affairs in Hungary; That therefore he had laid aside his thoughts of proceeding to the Moselle, since his service wou'd be more necessary elsewhere, and upon that account desir'd His Highness to send his Cannon away to Manheim under the direction of the Hereditary Prince his Son, since it might be of great advan-

tage, in setting down before Landau, or any other enterprize that might be found most convenient for annoying the Enemy.

His Grace thus resolving to march forward did also send to the Regency of the Palatinate at Heydelbourg, to tell them, that for the advantage of the Common Cause and the preservation of the Empire, he was obliged to make all the haste he cou'd, with the Forces of Her Majesty and the States General into Germany; and that therefore that no time might be lost, he desir'd that they would cause a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the Wikar at Ladenbourg where he design'd to pass over with the Army the 3d of June.

His Grace now sent to thank the States General for ordering him such a considerable and Speedy Reinforcement and acquainted them (and Prince Lewis at the same time) that he had appointed the Prince of Hesse and the two Lieutenant Generals Bulow and Hompetch to joyn him at Armchal near Philipsbourg.—

And tho his Grace had not yet openly declar'd his Resolution of Marching to the Danube, yet he sent to the Marquis of Barieth, Director of the Circle of Franconia, to the Bishop of Constance, and the Duke Regent of Wertemberg, Directors of Circle of Suabia. To the Bishop of Wormes; Grand Master of the Teutonick Order and to the Elector Palatine, Directors of the Rhine, for a free passage for his Army thro those Countries, praying withal, that Forrage and Provisions might be made ready as was desir'd before of the Elector of Mayence.—

And tho the Troop's notwithstanding all their fatigue, and ill weather had hitherto continued to be very healthy, yet his Grace thought it convenient to order a Hospital to be appointed at this place [Mainz], as well for those few which were, as for others which might become sick and unable to march.—

31st. The next morning the Army was drawn out in order of Battle and the Elector of Mayence with the Landgrave of Hesse D'Armstat, and several other Persons of Quality of both Sexes, came over the Rhine to see it.—They first rode along the lines, and then saw the Troops

March by towards the Mayne, which River they pass'd about noon, at a Village call'd Cortheim [=Kostheim] and encamp'd that night at Great Gerau.—

June 1st.—Afterwards the Army made a long march to Zuingenberg and the next day proceeded to Weinheim where his Grace was quartered in a fine Castle, belonging to the Elector Palatine. The Roads at this time were very difficult, and almost impassible and therefore his Grace sent an Express to General Churchill to be inform'd of the condition of the Foot and Artillery, and ordered him to change the Route, and to march with them towards Heydelbourg, and to send the same Messenger immediately back to acquaint his Grace where he design'd to encamp every Night, and what day he proposed to be at Heydelbourg, that his Grace might take his measures accordingly.—

2d—That General [= Churchill] was now advanced as far as Cassel [near Mainz], where he made a halt to refresh his Troops. The Day he halted, the Elector of Mayence invited him and the commanding Officers to Dinner and had a Ball appointed that Evening at his Brother the Count Schonborns House, for the entertainment of them. The same Day the Elector and Nobility aforesaid came to see the infantry receiv'd. All the Regiments were drawn out on purpose, and were so fresh, and so clean, that the Elector and all that attended him were greatly surprised at their handsome appearance. But when his Highness came to Her Majesties Battalion of Guards, which then consisted of above 700 able men, and was drawn up by itself, on the Right of all, he seem'd to view each man from Head to Foot, and observing not only their order, but the cleanliness, and their Arms, Accoutrements Clothes, Shoes and Linnen he said to the General "Certainly all these Gentlemen are Dressed for the Ball."—

By this time the Duke of Marlborough had got as far as Ladenbourg where he had passed the Neckar and encamped on the side of that River over against the Tower.—Here his Grace Halted likewise, as well to recover the Cavalry, as to give an opportunity to the Infantry and Artillery to come up to him. Here he had advice from the Count Vehlen General of the Palatine Horse, who commanded the Forces

in the lines of Stolhosfen, that Monsieur Tallard had repassed the Rhine the second instant at Altenheim and was marching towards Landau, in order to join Mareschall Villeroy or to oppose the Dukes passage over the Rhine. This motion of Marshall Tallard was occasioned by the Governour of Philipsbourg's offering to make a Bridge of Boats over the Rhine, which gave Monsieur Tallard a jealousie that the Duke was going to sit down before Landau.

* * * * * *

His Grace supposed the detachments from the Netherlands to be now in the Neighbourhood of Cologn, and therefore sent to the Bishop of Raab, to expedite the march of it, acquainting him at the same time with his resolution of Marching to the Danube. He also now acquainted the States General that he expected to be there within ten Days, having prepar'd everything for coming up with the Elector of Bavaria.—

* * * * * *

General Churchill was now come up to Heidelbourg where his Grace by a letter to that General expressed his concern for the infantry under his command. He was very sensible of the Hardships the Cavalry had endur'd by so many hard Marches, and therefore by more Necessary Consequences, reflected on the sufferings of the Foot, and so order'd that General to call the commanding Officers of each Regiment together, to cause them to make an early provision of shoes and other necessaries, which would not be so easily found in an Enemies Country [viz. in Bavaria whither they were going].—

And to make things yet more easy both to the Armies and the Countries it march thro, his Grace was not unmindfull to provide money and order Regular payments for everything that was brought into the Camp; a thing hitherto unknown in Germany, where in all former Wars, both the Imperial and French Generals have subsisted their Armies at the Expences of those Princes whose Countrys they march'd thro; and to prevent any failure herein he order'd the Treasurer of the Army to be always in Cash to answer Bills, and duly to have a

Months Subsistance before hand, and that the supplies should be laid from Frankfort to Nurenberg, And that he should loose no time in sending Credit to those places, since Specie was scarce in those Parts (Especially now Ausbourg the Chiefest Town for Returns was in the Elector of Bavaria's hands) and that the Bankers might have time to get any considerable sum together.

* * * * * *

The 8th His Grace March'd to great Gardach and repassing the Neckar at Lauffen, the next day came to Mundelsheim where he had advice, that the Elector of Bavaria had come over the Danube with his Army, and encampt near Ulm. The next morning an Adjutant General came to acquaint his Grace that Prince Eugene of Savoy and Count Wratislaw were on the road intending to dine with him that day. About 5 in the afternoon that Prince came to his Graces Quarters, where he was several Hours in Conference with his Grace and the next day accompanied him on the March to Gros Heppach.—

On this Ground the Troops were drawn out in Order of Battle and his Grace accompanied the Prince to review them. his Highness Prince Eugene was very much surprized to find them in so good Condition, after so long a March, and told his Grace That he heard much of the English Cavalry and found it to be the best appointed and the finest he had ever seen, But says he Money (which you don't want in England) will buy fine Clothes and fine Horses, but it cannot buy that lively air which I see in every one of those Troopers Faces. To which his Grace reply'd that that must be attributed, to their heartiness for the Publick Cause, and the particular pleasure and Satisfaction, they had in seeing his Highness.

Here his Grace halted for the Convenience of meeting more of the Emperors Generals, to advise with them about the properest methods of putting their projects into execution. The Duke Regent of Wirtemberg General of the Imperial Cavalry, came to him, thither from Prince Lewis's army and brought him an account from thence, that upon the Instances of his Grace for the Security of the Rhine, Prince Lewis had

sent 9000 Prussians and 3 Regiments of Horse (of 400 each Regiment) towards the Lines of Stolhoffen, And as Count Wratislaw inform'd his Grace, that Prince Lewis himself was coming Post to meet him. His Grace sent Colonel Cadogan to Compliment and Conduct that Prince to the Camp; The Colonel met him with Prince Lobkowitz his Nephew, at Elsinghen, and brought them to his Grace's quarters; where a Conference was held that Evening in which it was resolv'd, that all the Troops of the Allies in that Neighbourhood should ioin the Army on the Danube; and act in conjunction for some Days, to give time for the rest of the Troops to come up. To this end his Grace wrote to the Duke of Wertemberg and Lieutenant General Scholten to hasten the March of the Danish Forces, that were to come with them from Flanders, and Orders were sent for the other Troops which were most distant to make all possible haste to the place of Rendezvouz. And where as there are too many fatal Instances wherein a Confederate Army, the Common Cause has Suffer'd and many fair Advantages have been lost by the intestine disputes, and disagreements of the Principall Generals Commanding different Corps. There was now no likelyhood of any such thing, for Prince Lewis readily own'd what Obligations the Emperor and the House of Austria lay under to Her Majestie and sufficiently applauded the Wisdom and Conduct of the Duke her General; and therefore, tho as an Elder General and Lieutenant General of the whole Empire he might have pretended to a sole command of the Army, yet he insisted upon no such point, but that each of them shou'd have their Day of Command alternatively, one in the Name of the Emperor and the other in the name of Her Majestie, as long as they continued together. In short instead of disputing about priority of Command, they rather strove who should obey; and this good agreement between them at first, was a happy presage of future success....

II. *Marlborough's letters to Harley, describing the actions of Schellenberg and Blenheim*

To Mr Secretary Harley.

Sir, *Camp at Ebermergen, 3rd July, 1704.*

I now acknowledge the favour of your letters of the 6th and 9th past, and am very glad to acquaint you at the same time with a considerable advantage we have had over the Elector of Bavaria. Upon my coming on Tuesday with the army to Onder Ringen I received advice that the Elector had sent a great body of his best troops to reinforce those on the Schellenberg near Donawert, where they had been fortifying and intrenching themselves for some time. This being a post of great consequence to the enemy, I resolved to attack it, and accordingly yesterday, about three in the morning, I marched with a detachment of six thousand foot, thirty squadrons of horse, and three regiments of Imperial grenadiers, leaving the whole army to follow; but the march being long and the roads very difficult, I could not reach the river Wernitz till about noon. We immediately used all the diligence we could in laying over the bridges, which being finished about three o'clock, the troops with the artillery marched over, and all things being ready the attack began about six. We found the enemy very strongly intrenched, and they defended themselves with great obstinacy for an hour and a half, during which there was a continued fire without any intermission; at last the enemy were forced to yield to the bravery of our troops, who made a great slaughter and possessed themselves of their camp, the Comte d'Arco, the Elector's general, with their other general officers, being obliged to save themselves by swimming over the Danube. We took fifteen pieces of cannon, with their tents, baggage, and ammunition; part of the latter, being underground and not discovered by our men, blew up in the night and did some mischief to a squadron of Dutch dragoons.

The loss on our side has been considerable, but I must refer you to my next for the particulars. Our horse were com-

manded by Lieut.-Gen. Lumley and the foot by the Earl of Orkney and Major-Gen. Withers. The battalion of guards, one of my Lord Orkney's regiments, and Ingoldesby's were those that suffered the most. Major-Gen. Wood, Col. Palmer of Lieut.-Gen. Lumley's regiment, and Col. Meredyth are the most of note of the English that were wounded; Lieut.-Gen. Goor and Major-Gen. Beinheim in the States service are killed, with the Prince of Wolfenbuttel, a major-general in the Emperor's service; Prince Louis and Gen. Thungen were slightly wounded; Comte Stirum is shot through the body, but it is hoped may recover. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse and Count Horne, who commands the Duke of Wirtemberg's troops, are likewise wounded. All our troops in general behaved themselves with great gallantry, and the English in particular have gained a great deal of honour in this action, which I believe was the warmest that has been known for many years, the horse and dragoons appointed to sustain the foot standing within musket-shot of the enemy's trenches most part of the time.

A little before the attack began an adjutant-general arrived from Prince Eugène to give an account that the Maréchals de Villeroi and Tallard were at Strasburg, preparing to send the Elector a great reinforcement through the Black Forest, and I have advice from other hands that they design him fifty battalions and sixty squadrons of their best troops, which made me the more earnest to push on this attack, all which you will please to lay with my humble duty before her Majesty and his Royal Highness.

I am, with great truth, Sir, &c. M.

To Mr Secretary Harley

Camp at Hochstet, 14th August, 1704.

Sir,

I gave you an account on Sunday of the situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the enemy would pass the Danube at Lavingen, in order to attack Prince Eugene. At 11 that night we had an express from him, that the enemy were come over, and desiring he might be reinforced; where-

upon I ordered my brother Churchill to advance at one o'clock in the morning with his twenty battalions, and by three the whole army was in motion; for the greater expedition I ordered part of the troops to pass over the Danube, and follow the march of the twenty battalions, and with most of the horse, and the foot of the first line, I passed the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert, so that we all joined the Prince that night, intending to advance and take this camp of Hochstet, in order whereto we went out on Tuesday early in the morning with forty squadrons to view the ground, but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it, whereupon we resolved to attack them, and accordingly we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the camp at Munster, leaving all our tents standing. About six we came in view of the enemy, who we found did not expect so early a visit. The cannon began to play at half an hour after eight. They formed themselves in two bodies; the Elector, with M. Marsin and their troops opposite our right, and M. de Tallard with all his opposed to our left, which last fell to my share. They had two little rivulets besides a morass before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their view, and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great compass to come to the enemy, so that it was one o'clock before the battle began: it lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and, by the blessing of God, we obtained a complete victory. We have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action as in the retreat, besides upwards of thirty squadrons of the French, which we pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish, M. de Tallard with several of his general officers being taken prisoners at the same time; and in the village of Blenheim, which the enemy had intrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest opposition, we obliged twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons of dragoons to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. We took likewise all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle-drums, and colours in the action, so that I reckon the greatest part of M. Tallard's army is taken or destroyed. The bravery of all our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed;

the generals as well as the officers and soldiers behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, the horse and dragoons having been obliged to charge four or five several times.

The Elector and M. Marsin were so advantageously posted that Prince Eugene could make no impression on them till the third attack at or near seven at night, when he made a great slaughter of them, but being near a wood side, a good body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that army retreated towards Lavingen, it being too late and the troops too much tired to pursue them far. I cannot say too much in praise of the Prince's good conduct and the bravery of his troops on this occasion.

You will please to lay this before her Majesty and his Royal Highness, to whom I send my Lord Tunbridge with the good news.

I pray you will likewise inform yourself and let me know her Majesty's pleasure as well relating to M. de Tallard and the other general officers, as for the disposal of near 1200 other officers, and between 8000 and 9000 common soldiers, who being all made prisoners by her Majesty's troops are entirely at her disposal; but as the charge of subsisting these officers and men must be very great, I presume her Majesty will be inclined that they be exchanged for any other prisoners that offer.

I should likewise be glad to receive her Majesty's directions for the disposal of the standards and colours, whereof I have not yet the number, but guess there cannot be less than a hundred, which is more than has been taken in any battle these many years.

You will easily believe that in so long and vigorous an action, the English, who had so great a share in it, must have suffered, as well in officers as men, but I have not yet the particulars.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant. M.

III. *Blenheim, described by Cardonnell, Marlborough's Secretary*

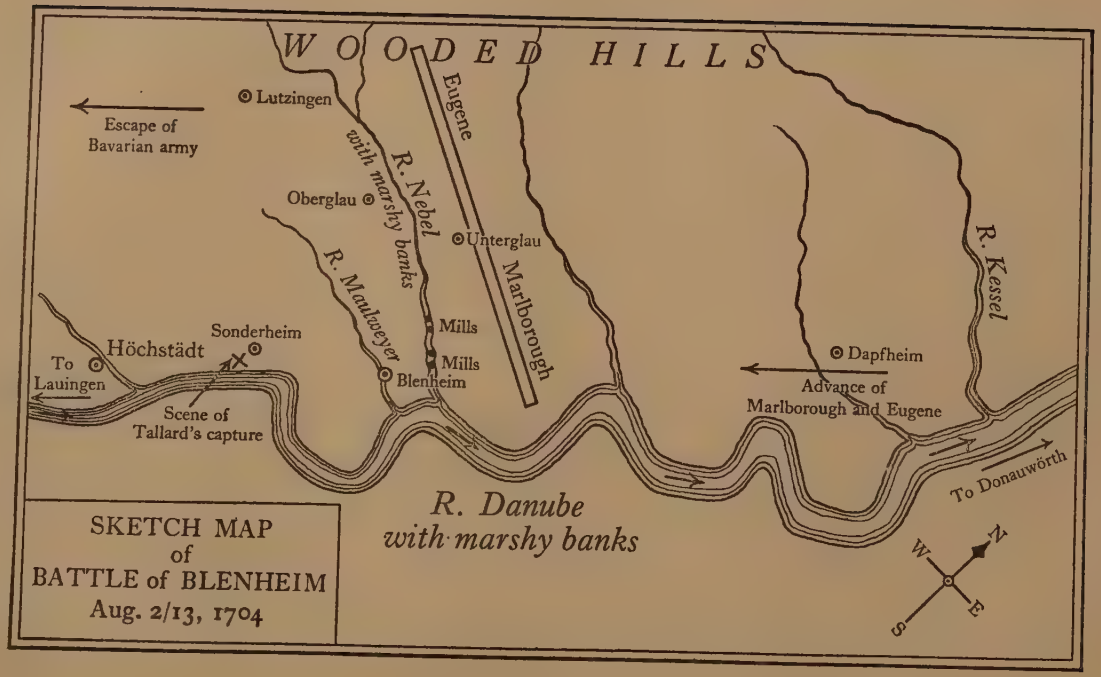
(B.M. Ellis Papers II, Add. MSS. 28918, ff. 287–288 *b*)

Prince Lewis of Baden having march'd the 9th with twenty two Battallions and thirty four Esquadrons all Imperial to beseige Ingoldstadt, the Duke of Marlborough tooke post with the rest of the army between the Saar and Danube for as to either to cover the seige, or be ready to joine Pr. Eugene in case the Elector should passe the Danube. The 11th uppon advice that hee had done soe neer Dillingen, our army passed itt att two several places and joined the Prince who had retired to Donewaert, and that evening our army encamped att Munster within a league and halfe of the Electors camp, who made a movement and beat in our advanc't guards as if he would have attacked us, for hee did nott then know that Prince Eugene and wee were joined.

Our Tents and Baggage being sent away wee marched on the 13th in eight Collumns towards the enemyes camp, without their having any knowledge thereof till about seven in the morning that wee appeared in sight of them, att which time wee began to extend, and forme in the enemyes front, who had a small river and a morasse from right to left before them, the passing whereof had some difficulty in itt, for wee were oblidged to make severall bridges in the very face of their army and some of ours attackt on the left the Electors forces. Lord Cutts with twenty Battalions att the same time or rather a little before attackt a village on their right [Blenheim] wherein Marchal Tallards foote were posted. General Churchill Lord Orkney and Lt Genll Ingoldsby were in the center.

The enemyes frame consisted of about eighty peices of Cannon which began to play about nine a clock, and killed us a great many men. Our first attack begun att two in the afternoone, in a short time after which our horse and foote passed in the Center when all the french horse and some Battalions of foote were drawne up.

Our whole army having now passed the river & Morasse the horse formed and charged the enemy with the greatest


WOODED HILLS
Lutzingen
Escape of Bavarian army
Eugene
Marlborough
R. Nebel with marshy banks
Oberglau
Unterglau
R. Mauluveyer
Mills
Mills
Blenheim
Sonderheim
Höchstädt
To Lauingen
Scene of Tallard's capture
R. Kessel
Dapfheim
Advance of Marlborough and Eugene
To Donauwörth
R. Danube with marshy banks
SKETCH MAP of BATTLE of BLENHEIM Aug. 2/13, 1704
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bravery imaginable, though in some places they were repulsed for want of foote to sustaine them, those who had first past with Gen[ll] Churchill being march't to sustaine Lord Cutts whom the enemy pusht very hard: Lord Orkney marcht the foote under his command to sustaine the horse, and having interlined them (whoe were in some disorder for want of foote) brought up some cannon, and then wee charged both their foote and horse.

Our horse in a very little time routed theirs, butt their foote stood their ground (being drawn up in Battalion quarres) till they were all cutt to peices. Then their whole line retired a considerable way to the ground where they had encampt. After this Lord Orkney moved towards the right of the enemy, and joined L[t] Gen[ll] Ingoldsby whoe both passed another rivulet and came into the right of the enemyes camp, butt could not gett the cannon over, wherefore they were planted on the other side, from whence they played on the enemyes flanke in the village which att the beginning Ld Cutts had attackt [Blenheim].

Itt was agreed that att the same time Orkney and Ingoldsby should attack the village the Prince of Hesse & L[t] Gen Lumley should charge the enemyes horse to prevent their flanking our foote, which they did with great bravery and successe.

Our foote uppon the first attack gott into the village, on the side where Orkney & Ingoldsby were, L[t] Cutts whoe attackt att the same time being repulsed, butt were in a little time beat of, butt they kept possession of the avenues of the village, whilst Brig. Web with his Regiment maintained his foot on the side of the Danube which shutt the enemy quite up.

Lord Orkney made two other attacks, in the latter of which hee went into the very middle of the village, but was beaten out againe both times; by means of some houses which covered the enemy, and out of which they fired and killed a great many of our men. Hee then made another attack. (Having first given orders for firing those houses as soone as they could come att them, which was accordingly done) and saw a Brigade advancing towards him, with intention as hee

supposed to fight their way through, his Lordship ordered the beating a parley, which Brig: Denonville (whoe commanded) accepted of In a very little time hee submitted to become prisoner att discretion, (being the onely conditions his L^d^sp would graunt) provided they might nott bee plundered; which was very punctually perform'd.

L^t^ Gen^ll^ Ingoldsby att the same time capitulated on like formes with a second [Brigadier] whoe comanded another Brigade in the village. Brigad^r^ being examined touching the number of forces in the village answered above twenty Battalions and twelve Squadrons. L^d^ Orkney proposd his returning into the village with his Lordships aid de camp to offer Mons^r^ Blanzac Maresshall de camp and whoe comanded there in cheife the like conditions which Denonville had accepted; accordingly they went, and returned in a short time Blanzac coming out with them. L^d^ Orkney acquainted him that their Maresshal was actually our Prisoner with an infinite number of other officers, that my L^d^ Marlborough was by this time att least a league of, in pursuite of their horse whoe were entirely routed, that his Grace had sent him word that he should bee immediately sustained by twenty Battalions and all the cañon (which noe doubt had its weight with Blanzac for you must know that L^d^ Orkney had att this time butt nine Battalions & three troops of Dragoons comanded by Brig. Rosse, whoe behaved themselves very gallantly, & were of very great use) and therefore offered him quarter which hee advised his acquiting of.

Marquesse Blanzac promised returning to L^d^ Orkney after having consulted his officers in the village. L^d^ Orkney sent his aid de camp back into the village with Blanzac with directions that in case the officers should bee of opinion to capitulate hee should then goe to Lord Cutts whoe was on the other side the village to acquaint him that the enemy were treating in order to prevent his firing or making any farther attack; Blanzac in a short time returned butt seemed very unwilling to become prisoners insisting on marching away, butt this or any other or better conditions than what hee had grauntd to Denonville his Lordship peremptorily refusing Blanzac accepted the same and marcht out prisoners twenty

seven Battalions (including the two who had first capitulated) and twelve squadrons of Dragoons.

As to what passed on the right where Pr. Eugene comanded wee must bee wholly ignorant, save that I heard him say that hee had been very sore presst, having repulsed the enemy severall times, and often repulsed by them, wherefore hee did nott thinke fitt to push the Bavarians too hard in their retreat which they made regularly and in good order.

The Duke of Marlborough exposd himselfe in every place, from one attacque to another, beyond what is thought advisable in a General, butt hee saw the good effect of his doing soe, and noe doubt knew the necessity of a battaille better then any of us, for I beleive had the opinion of a majority of us prevaild, wee should nott have been for itt under our circumstances; in short orders were never better given or better executed.

You must hereafter expect a perticular accott of the slaine and prisoners on ye enemyes part, for of the latter there are none of us I beleive I shall bee greatly within compasse in saying wee have twelve hundred officers and as many thousand Soldiers prisoners.

IV. *The Blenheim Campaign as Captain Parker saw it.*

THESE *extracts are from the Memoirs of Captain Robert Parker, late of the Royal Regiment of Foot in Ireland, published by his son in* 1746. *They give a marching officer's experiences.*

Now the Duke of *Marlborough* upon conſidering the ſtate of the *Empire*, ſaw plainly, that unleſs ſomething extraordinary was undertaken this year for its defence, the Elector of *Bavaria* would inevitably place himſelf on the *Imperial* Throne; and in that caſe he and *France* would give laws to *Europe*. Upon this he formed a bold and daring ſcheme, for marching a good body of Troops from the *Netherlands* to the *Danube*. He firſt communicated it to the Queen, and a few of the Privy-Council; then to ſuch of the *States-General* as he

could confide in; for the ſucceſs of the undertaking depended in a great meaſure on the ſecrecy of it. In order to cover his deſign, he gave out that he would make this Campaign on the *Moſelle*; and had ordered great Magazines of all manner of neceſſaries to be laid up at *Coblentz*, at which place the *Moſelle* falls into the *Rhine*. This anſwered his purpoſe, for the Court of *France* made no doubt, but his deſigns lay that way; in conſequence of which, they made great preparations to receive him on that ſide.

* * * * * *

And now when we expected to march up the *Moſelle*, to our ſurprize we paſſed that river over a ſtone bridge, and the *Rhine* over two bridges of boats, and proceeded on our march through the country of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, where we were joined by the hereditary Prince (now King of *Sweden*) with the Troops of that country; which made our Army 40,000 fighting men compleat.

When we had paſſed the *Rhine*, the Duke for the convenience of forage, advanced a day's march, and took his rout with the Horſe, different from that of the Foot, which was left under the command of General *Churchill*. We frequently marched three, ſometimes four days, ſucceſſively, and halted a day. We generally began our march about three in the morning, proceeded about four leagues, or four and half each day, and reached our ground about nine. As we marched through the Countries of our Allies, Commiſſaries were appointed to furniſh us with all manner of neceſſaries for man and horſe; theſe were brought to the ground before we arrived, and the ſoldiers had nothing to do, but to pitch their tents, boil their kettles, and lie down to reſt. Surely never was ſuch a march carried on with more order and regularity, and with leſs fatigue both to man and horſe. From the country of *Heſſe* we marched through that of *Naſſau*, into the Electorate of *Mentz*, then through that of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*, and through the *Palatinate* till we came to *Heydelberg*, where we halted three days; and now, and not before, was it publickly known that the Duke's deſign was againſt the Elector of *Bavaria*. It was ſo much a ſecret, that General *Churchill* (the Duke's

Brother) knew nothing of the matter till this time; and *Villeroy*'s conſtant attendance on our marches, ſhewed that the Court of *France* was as much in the dark as we were.

* * * * * *

The ſituation and diſpoſition of the enemy was as follows: They had the *Danube* on their Right, cloſe to which was the village of *Blenheim:* They had on their Left a large thick wood, with the village of *Lutzingen* cloſe by it, from whence runs a rivulet, which empties itſelf into the *Danube* a little below *Blenheim.* This rivulet they had in their Front, which made the ground in moſt places about it ſwampy and marſhy. The Elector and *Marſin* drew up their part of the Army cloſe to the Moraſs, and determined not to ſuffer a man to paſs, but what ſhould come on the points of their Bayonets. But *Tallard* made quite another ſort of a diſpoſition of his Troops; he poſted in the village of *Blenheim* 28 Battallions and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons. There were two mills on the rivulet a little above *Blenheim*, in which he poſted two Battalions; he had therefore but 10 Battalions in the field with him; and being joined by 20 Squadrons of *Marſin*'s, he had 70 Squadrons, on whom was his great dependence. Theſe and his 10 Battalions he drew up on the height of the plain, almoſt half an *Engliſh* mile from the Moraſs. The village of *Auberclaw* lay partly on the Moraſs toward our ſide, and was near their center; in it *Marſin* had poſted 8 Battalions. Now theſe, with the troops in *Blenheim* and in the mills, were to march out as ſoon as they ſaw the Duke paſs the Moraſs, and fall on his rear, by which means *Tallard* was ſure of having him in a trap between two fires. Now as the main part of this Battle was fought between the Duke and this mighty Mareſhal of *France*, I ſhall be very particular in deſcribing it.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, a man of uncommon penetration and preſence of mind, ſoon perceived *Tallard*'s deſign; and thereupon ordered General *Churchill*, with 19 Battalions to attack the troops in *Blenheim*, and Lieutenant-General *Wood* with 8 Squadrons to ſupport him. He alſo ordered the Prince of *Holſtein-beck* with ſix Battalions to attack the village of *Auberclaw*, and two battalions to attack the mills. The

Duke having thus ſecured his rear, a little before one ordered the ſignal to be made for attacking the villages and mills; at which time Brigadier *Rue* [Row] at the head of the *Britiſh* Guards, and two *Britiſh* Brigades, attacked thoſe in *Blenheim*, but were repulſed, the Brigadier and a great many men being killed. At this time the reſt of the Foot coming up, they renewed the charge; and thoſe that had been repulſed, having ſoon rallied, returned to the charge, and drove the enemy from the ſkirts of the village, into the very heart of it. Here they had thrown up an intrenchment, within which they were pent up in ſo narrow a compaſs, that they had not room to draw up in any manner of order, or even to make uſe of their arms. Thereupon we drew up in great order about 80 paces from them, from whence we made ſeveral vain attempts to break in upon them, in which many brave men were loſt to no purpoſe; and after all, we were obliged to remain where we firſt drew up. The enemy alſo made ſeveral attempts to come out upon us: But as they were neceſſarily thrown into confuſion in getting over their trenches, ſo before they could form into any order for attacking us, we mowed them down with our platoons in ſuch numbers, that they were always obliged to retire with great loſs; and it was not poſſible for them to ruſh out upon us in a diſorderly manner, without running upon the very points of our Bayonets. This great body of Troops therefore was of no further uſe to *Tallard*, being obliged to keep on the defenſive, in expectation that he might come to relieve them.

Prince *Holſtein-beck* was repulſed on his attack of *Auberclaw:* Yet, though he could not force the enemy from thence, he anſwered the Duke's intention however, in not ſuffering them to fall on his rear. They in the mills made but little reſiſtance; ſo ſetting them on fire they made off to *Tallard*, and joined the Battalions he had with him.

It may be preſumed that the Lord *Marlborough* was not idle all this while. The very moment that the villages were attacked, he ordered Colonel *Palms* with three *Britiſh* Squadrons of Horſe to enter the Moraſs. Theſe having paſſed it without oppoſition, drew up at ſome diſtance from it. Upon which the Duke gave orders, that all the Troops ſhould paſs with the greateſt expedition, while his Grace followed cloſe

after *Palms*. *Tallard*, as a man infatuated, ſtood looking on, without firing a ſhot great or ſmall; theſe formed their Lines as faſt as they paſſed. At length *Tallard* ſeeing *Palms* advanced with his Squadrons ſome diſtance from our Lines, ordered out five Squadrons, (ſome ſaid ſeven) to march down and cut *Palm*'s Squadrons to pieces, and then retire. When the commanding Officer of theſe Squadrons had got clear of their Lines, he ordered the Squadron on his Right, and that on his Left to edge outward, and then march down till they came on a line with *Palms*; at which time they were to wheel inward, and fall upon his flanks, while he charged him in front. *Palms* perceiving this, ordered Major *Oldfield*, who commanded the Squadron on his Right, and Major *Creed*, who commanded that on his Left, to wheel outward, and charge thoſe Squadrons, that were coming down on them; and he, not in the leaſt doubting but they would beat them, ordered them when they had done that, to wheel in upon the flanks of the other Squadrons that were coming upon him, while he charged them in front; and every thing ſucceeded accordingly. This was a great ſurprize to *Tallard*, who had placed ſuch confidence in his Troops, that he verily thought there were not any on earth able to ſtand before them. And now in no ſmall hurry, he ordered his Lines to advance, and charge the Duke, who by this time had all his Troops over, and his Lines formed.

Here was a fine plain without hedge or ditch, for the Cavalry on both ſides to ſhew their bravery; for there were but few Foot to interpoſe, theſe being moſtly engaged at the villages. *Tallard* ſeeing his five Squadrons ſo ſhamefully beat by three, was confounded to that degree, that he did not recover himſelf the whole day, for after that, all his orders were given in hurry and confuſion.

When the Duke ſaw *Tallard*'s Lines advance, he ordered his Troops alſo to advance and meet them. The Front-line of the enemy was compoſed moſtly of the *Gendarmery*, on whoſe bravery *Tallard* had the greateſt dependence. Theſe therefore were pitched upon to begin the Battle; and they indeed made ſo bold and reſolute a Charge, that they broke through our firſt Line: but our ſecond meeting them, obliged them to retire. This check allayed that fire, which the *French* have

always been ſo remarkable for in their firſt onſets: And it was obſervable, that they did not make ſuch another puſh that day; for when once they are repulſed, their fire immediately abates. And now our Squadrons charged in their turn, and thus for ſome hours they charged each other with various ſucceſs, all ſword in hand. At length the *French* courage began to abate, and our Squadrons gained ground upon them, until they forced them back to the Height on which they were firſt drawn up. Here their Foot which had not fired a ſhot interpoſed; whereupon the Duke ordered his Squadrons to halt. At the ſame time our Foot came up, and Colonel *Blood* with nine Field-pieces loaded with Cartridge-ſhot, fired on their Foot, which obliged them to quit the Horſe, and ſtand on their own defence.

The Cavalry had this breathing-time, in which both ſides were very buſy in putting their Squadrons and Lines in order. And now *Tallard* finding that the Troops in *Blenheim* did not anſwer his expectation, ſent to them to quit the Village, and come to his aſſiſtance: But alas! they were not able to aſſiſt themſelves. He then ſent to Mareſhal *Marſin* for help: But he ſent him word, he had too much work on his own hands. The Duke now finding the enemy very backward in renewing the Battle, and, as it ſeemed, rather in a tottering condition, ſent orders to all his Troops to advance gently, until they came pretty near them, and then to ride on a full trot up to them. This they did ſo effectually, that it decided the fate of the day. The *French* fire was quite extinguiſhed, they made not the leaſt reſiſtance, but gave way and broke at once. Our Squadrons drove through the very centre of them, which put them to an intire rout. About 30 of their Squadrons made toward a Bridge of boats they had over the *Danube:* But the Bridge (as it frequently happens in ſuch caſes) broke under the crowd that ruſhed upon it, and down they went. At the ſame time our Squadrons purſued cloſe at their heels, cutting down all before them; for in all ſuch cloſe purſuits, 'tis very rare that any Quarter is given. In ſhort, they were almoſt all of them killed or drowned; and the few that reached the far ſide of the River, were killed by the Boors of the Villages they had burnt. *Tallard* fled that way, but finding the Bridge broken, he

turned up the River toward *Hochſtet*, and was taken. The reſt of his Troops fled toward *Lawingen*, but were not purſued, becauſe the Elector and *Marſin* ſtill made good their ground. The Duke obſerving this, ordered Lieutenant General *Hompeſch* to draw together what Troops he could, and fall on their Flank: But by this time they found that *Tallard* was routed, and ſeeing our Squadrons drawing toward them, they inſtantly, and with great dexterity and expedition, formed their Troops into three Columns, and marched off with the greateſt diſpatch and order imaginable. Prince *Eugene* by this time had got a good part of his Troops over the Moraſs, and was juſt ready to fall on their Rear: But perceiving the Squadrons under *Hompeſch* coming down that way, he took them to be ſome of *Tallard*'s Squadrons drawing down to join the Elector; whereupon he halted, leſt they ſhould fall on his Flank. The Duke alſo ſeeing Prince *Eugene*'s Troops ſo near the Rear of the Elector's, took them to be a Body of *Bavarians*, making good the Elector's retreat; and thereupon ordered *Hompeſch* to halt. Here they both remained until they were informed of their miſtakes by their Aids de Camp; and it was by this means that the Elector and *Marſin* had time to get over the Paſs of *Nordlingen* which was juſt before them. Our Troops alſo were much fatigued, and night drew on, all which favoured their retreat. Or perhaps it may rather be ſaid, that Providence interpoſed, which ſeeing the ſlaughter of the day, thought it ſufficient: Otherwiſe few, if any of them, could have eſcaped. As to the Battalions which *Tallard* had with him in the Field, they were cut in pieces to a man, ſuch only excepted, as threw themſelves down among the dead. I rode through them next morning as they lay dead, in Rank and File. As ſoon as the Troops in *Blenheim*, ſaw the fate of their Army in the Field, they threw down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion; but the Troops in *Auberclaw* made off with *Marſin*.

V. *Blenheim through French eyes*

(*Mémoires militaires sous Louis XIV*, extraits par le général de Vault, revus etc. par le général Pelet, 1841, tome IV, pp. 562–73, 584–8.)

In the first two of these four documents, Marshal Tallard gives his apology for the great defeat that has made his name immortal. The third and fourth documents (*pp.* 128–133) *are narratives of other French officers present at the battle.*

Lettre de M. le maréchal de Tallard à M. de Chamillart. Hanau, 4 septembre 1704.

Je viens de recevoir, monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 25 de l'autre mois; je compte que M. de Silly sera arrivé le même soir auprès de vous, qui aura satisfait à tout ce que vous désiriez de moi. Je l'ai prié et chargé de dire la vérité de tout au roi et à vous; c'est mon unique instruction, et je suis persuadé qu'il se sera acquitté fidèlement de la commission dont il avait bien voulu se charger. Si, outre cela, monsieur, vous voulez encore un mot de moi, je vais vous obéir.

J'ai prévu le malheur qui est arrivé, en partant d'Alsace; le malheureux projet de M. de Legall, spécieux en apparence, était en effet une source d'abîmes. Si j'étais resté à la tête du pays de Wurtemberg, mes forces étant connues et les ennemis en état de venir à moi avec toutes celles qu'ils jugeraient nécessaires pour m'accabler, il fallait que je le fusse ou que je me retirasse en Alsace avec honte et précipitation; ma perte ou ma retrait faisait faire la paix de M. de Bavière, et l'armée du Danube était également perdue; les ennemis, par parenthèse, ne la voulaient laisser retirer par le projet de paix que brigade par brigade. C'est M. de Bavière qui leur a fait parler le premier, et il n'est pas vrai qu'il y ait jamais offert Ulm, Memmingen ni Augsbourg. Comptez, s'il vous plaît, monsieur, sur ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous mander, et excusez cette petite digression.

Je n'étais pas en moindre risque en allant en Bavière, les choses y étant dans l'état qu'elles étaient, sans aucun magasin, pas pour six jours de vivres en nul endroit, tous les postes occupés par les ennemis, et l'armée que je menais affaiblie par la désertion de tous les étrangers, et la mortalité dans les dragons surtout, et dans plusieurs régiments de cavalerie, telle que vous aurez appris par M. le duc de Quintin qu'elle était

dans son régiment. Au surplus, monsieur, une ignorance totale de la force des ennemis, et M. de Bavière ayant toutes ses troupes, à cinq bataillons et vingt-trois escadrons près, dans son pays, pour couvrir ses salines, le château d'un gentilhomme, enfin tout, hors ce qu'il fallait couvrir, qui était la frontière.

Je lui parlai dans la première audience que j'eus avec lui là-dessus avec tant de force, qu'il me promit de faire venir jusqu'à quarante escadrons et dix-huit bataillons.

Cependant, les ennemis étant partis de Friedberg et marchant au Danube, il eut de faux avis qu'ils avaient passé cette rivière; il fut question d'aller à Lauingen pour empêcher qu'ils ne s'en saisissent. Je demandai si, quand on y serait, il y avait quelque poste qu'on pût occuper avec sûreté pour attendre le renfort de Bavarois qui devait venir. Tout le monde m'assura que oui: on prit la résolution de passer le Danube; le poste de Lauingen, qui était le seul qui nous restât, était si important, que cette démarche était nécessaire. Je consentis donc à la faire, sans même donner qu'un séjour à l'armée que j'amenais: nous marchâmes trois jours, au bout desquels nous passâmes le Danube. Je trouvai des pays ouverts et point de poste. M. l'électeur, se moquant de mes craintes, me força de lui dire que, si je connaissais moins sa droiture, je croirais qu'il voudrait hasarder les forces du roi sans les siennes, pour voir sans risque ce qui en arriverait. Il voulut marcher dès le soir à M. le prince Eugène, ignorant ses forces et ne sachant pas qu'il avait ramené trente escadrons des lignes et dix-huit bataillons, qui, avec le détachement que les alliés lui avaient envoyé et un nouveau corps de leur armée dont il avait été joint, le faisaient d'une force considérable. Je ne m'y opposai point, disant que c'était à lui et à M. le maréchal de Marcin, qui connaissaient le pays et qui savaient le fond qu'il y avait à faire sur ceux qui leur donnaient des nouvelles, à juger de ce qui se devait entreprendre; qu'en gros je savais qu'il ne fallait pas manquer une occasion, si on la croyait sûre, mais qu'il fallait prendre garde aussi à trouver toute l'armée. Après une longue délibération, on conclut de ne point marcher ce soir-là.

Le lendemain je pris la liberté de représenter à M. le maréchal de Marcin qu'il me semblait que, dans la situation

des choses, il ne fallait rien risquer; que les affaires du roi allaient bien partout; que nous avions les principales forces de l'état entre les mains, et qu'à mon sens nous ne devions rien tenter qu'au mois d'octobre, pour les quartiers d'hiver, et nous contenter jusqu'à ce temps-là de ne point laisser mettre les ennemis entre le pays de Wurtemberg et nous.

Dès le lendemain M. l'électeur nous repressa de marcher en avant; comme il n'y avait point de fourrage où nous étions, et que j'avais envie, au lieu d'avoir le cul au Danube, comme nous avions, que nous y missions notre droite et notre gauche vers la montagne, afin de traverser le pays, je consentis à aller chercher un camp, étant convenus que nous laisserions la rivière d'Höchstett devant nous, ou qu'au plus nous n'irions que jusqu'à Höchstett, laissant le marais à la tête du camp.

Quand nous y fûmes le lendemain, M. l'électeur proposa de passer outre et d'aller jusqu'à Lutzingen, où le combat s'est donné. Poussé, tourné en ridicule sur mes représentations, je consentis qu'on fût reconnaître le nouveau camp proposé. Je revenais toujours à dire qu'il fallait rester derrière Höchstett. M. de Legall dit que les ennemis se viendraient mettre à Lutzingen: s'ils y fussent venus et que nous fussions restés à Höchstett, vous eussiez eu cent lettres contre moi par la première occasion; et en effet c'était leur dessein. M. le maréchal de Marcin me tira à part là-dessus, et me dit qu'il ne voyait pas d'inconvénient à y venir; las de refuser, j'y consentis, et nous y marchâmes le lendemain sans l'avoir trop reconnu par nous-mêmes, mais sur la foi de ceux qui y étaient l'année dernière avec M. le maréchal de Villars. Cette diversité d'avis, monsieur, qui rend ce qu'on veut faire public, fait bien voir et est une belle leçon pour jamais de n'avoir qu'un homme pour commander une armée, et que c'est un grand malheur que d'avoir à ménager un prince de l'humeur de M. l'électeur de Bavière, surtout quand des lieutenants généraux s'adressent à lui directement pour l'échauffer et lui inspirer leurs sentiments, comme faisaient certains de l'armée de M. le maréchal de Marcin.

Quand nous fûmes arrivés, nous vîmes l'armée des ennemis campée à une lieue et demie de nous. M. l'électeur de Bavière dit qu'il venait de recevoir des lettres de Donawert, par où

on lui mandait qu'il n'y avait que le duc de Marlborough qui eût joint le prince Eugène, et sur ce principe il voulait qu'on marchât aux ennemis pour les attaquer. Il criait qu'on perdait une occasion qu'on ne trouverait jamais. Enfin M. le maréchal de Marcin et moi lui dîmes que, puisqu'il voulait marcher à eux, il fallait au moins démêler si M. de Bade y était ou non, parce que d'aller attaquer des gens beaucoup plus forts que soi, dans un beau poste, comme ils le seraient s'ils étaient tous réunis, n'était pas chose faisable. Cependant, pour ne pas perdre cette prétendue occasion, on détacha M. de Silly avec huit troupes soutenues de huit autres, puis de seize, enfin de quatre régiments de dragons et de mille chevaux, pour engager une escarmouche à la tête du camp des ennemis, afin de faire des prisonniers à quelque prix que ce fût. Il nous en envoya quatre en fort peu de temps, qui nous assurèrent que toutes les forces des ennemis y étaient. M. l'électeur convint donc de faire entrer les troupes dans le camp, disant à tout le monde qu'on perdait une occasion qu'on ne retrouverait jamais.

Je le priai de vouloir bien passer à ma droite, parce que je n'en étais pas content; on trouva même que je faisais diguer le ruisseau, afin de le faire regonfler. M. de Zurlauben m'avertit que M. d'Arco riait de ce qu'on croyait que les ennemis pussent venir à nous; et M. l'électeur, sachant que j'avais envie de faire faire une redoute sur un grand chemin qui traversait le ruisseau, me dit, "J'espère que vous ne ferez pas lever terre;" ce sont ses propres mots. Tout cela changea fort le lendemain à cinq heures du matin, quand on vit que l'armée des ennemis marchait à nous; et ceux qui étaient ennemis des précautions la veille cherchaient à en prendre quand il n'était plus temps. On se mit en bataille: je mis seize bataillons dans le village de Blindheim et quatre régiments de dragons à pied, leur étant mort tant de chevaux qu'ils rendaient un double service de cette manière-là. Ce village était trop éloigné du ruisseau pour en défendre le passage, et trop près pour qu'on pût faire passer les lignes devant et le laisser derrière. J'appuyai la gendarmerie au village. Je mis trois brigades d'infanterie le long du canal d'un moulin qui était derrière; la brigade de Broglie et celle du mestre de camp général joignaient la gendarmerie, puis commençait la droite de l'armée de M. le

maréchal de Marcin. J'avais neuf bataillons dans ma seconde ligne, et n'en avais point dans ces trois brigades de cavalerie de la première, parce que ce corps était destiné à se porter promptement sur le ruisseau et charger les ennemis avant qu'ils fussent formés. Je ne m'étendrai pas davantage sur un détail que M. le marquis de Silly vous aura expliqué bien plus nettement que je ne pourrais faire dans cette lettre; j'aurai simplement l'honneur de vous dire que, voyant que les ennemis assemblaient un gros corps de troupes dans le centre de leur ligne, j'envoyai un de mes aides de camp en avertir M. le maréchal de Marcin, pour le supplier d'envoyer la réserve derrière ce centre: il crut en avoir besoin à la gauche.

Il faut considérer, s'il vous plaît, monsieur, que je n'avais que trente-six bataillons et quarante-quatre escadrons, ayant été obligé de doubler mes escadrons à cause de la mortalité des chevaux. Je fus attaqué par quarante-huit bataillons et quatre-vingt-neuf escadrons anglais ou à la solde de Hollande et d'Angleterre, les moindres escadrons à cent soixante maîtres, les moindres bataillons passant cinq cents hommes. M. le maréchal de Marcin fut attaqué par dix-huit bataillons et quatre-vingt-douze escadrons. Il avait quatre-vingt-trois escadrons et quarante-deux bataillons, parce que les troupes de l'électeur étaient à la gauche.

Je renvoyai encore lui demander du secours dans le cours de l'action: il ne crut pas être en état de m'en donner. Enfin j'envoyai le maréchal des logis de la cavalerie lui dire que je le priais de me mander de ses nouvelles; que je ne pouvais plus soutenir l'effort des ennemis, d'autant plus qu'une colonne de cavalerie de la droite de leur armée repliait encore sur moi d'augmentation; M. du Plessis ne put me rejoindre, et je ne l'ai pas vu depuis.

M. de la Vallière et son régiment, M. de Broglie et le régiment du Roi, cavalerie, et le régiment de Forsat, ont fait des merveilles; les officiers de la gendarmerie sont de très-braves gens; mais les gendarmes n'ont rien fait qui vaille. Le gros de la cavalerie a mal fait, je dis très-mal; car on n'a jamais rompu un escadron des ennemis. J'ai pourtant vu un instant où la bataille était gagnée par la brigade de Robecq et celle d'Albaret, si la cavalerie, qui s'était avancée plus près

des ennemis, à la faveur de l'infanterie, qu'elle n'avait fait auparavant, n'avait tourné tout d'un coup et abandonné cette pauvre infanterie.

M. de Zurlauben a fait des merveilles et en officier et en brave homme; M. de Valsemé a très-bien fait aussi. J'ai lieu de me fort louer de M. de Silly et de M. de Lignier, brigadier d'infanterie. La tête qui tourna à M. de Clérambault, qui préféra de se noyer à rester à son poste, est cause que, sa mort étant arrivée à l'insu de M. de Blanzac et des autres, l'on n'a point pris, dans le village où était l'infanterie [Blenheim], les partis qu'il y a eu à prendre. M. de Clérambault y avait rappelé à mon insu les trois brigades qui soutenaient mon aile droite, à la faveur desquelles on eût toujours été le maître de retirer l'infanterie du village. J'en étais sorti, il y avait trois quarts d'heure, pour retourner à la cavalerie, quand ce qui en restait s'enfuit sans que les ennemis marchassent à eux; je voulus la rallier, mais inutilement.

Je voulus me rejeter dans le village pour faire un dernier effort, afin de me retirer avec l'infanterie; je fus suivi par un régiment de dragons des troupes de Hesse, qui m'enveloppa, l'officier m'ayant reconnu à l'ordre du Saint-Esprit. Le village se défendit encore une heure et demie et puis capitula, abandonné par toute la cavalerie, par celui qui y commandait et par la moitié de ceux qui étaient dedans. M. de Silly vous aura informé, monsieur, d'un détail que je ne puis répéter ici. Ce fut la fin d'une journée malheureuse; cependant ce que le village tint de trop a donné lieu à M. le maréchal de Marcin de se retirer; et comme je sais qu'il est arrivé en Alsace avec son armée, la cavalerie de la mienne, qui n'a perdu que cinq ou six cents hommes, et l'armée de l'électeur, je puis vous assurer, monsieur, en homme d'honneur, que je crois les affaires du roi plus solidement bonnes que si les forces du roi étaient en Bavière. Ratisbonne étant pris et Ingolstadt assiégé, comme il l'était sans que l'électeur en sût rien quand le combat s'est donné, car il eût fait sa paix, ses troupes eussent servi l'empereur, et l'armée du roi aurait eu beaucoup de peine à se retirer. Il ramène un corps de cavalerie considérable dont nous manquions, et je vois présentement plus de deux cents escadrons et plus de cent dix bataillons en Alsace.

Permettez-moi, je vous supplie, monsieur, de n'en pas dire davantage sur une matière qui me perce encore le cœur. Le plus grand mal est sauvé quand les ennemis n'ont point suivi l'armée. Sans le miracle de l'année dernière à Höchstett, M. de Bavière était perdu dès la campagne passée; sans celui de Spire, il l'était l'hiver; il en fallait un double cette campagne pour le sauver, et c'est un bonheur que l'armée de M. le maréchal de Marcin et la sienne soient arrivées à bon port.

J'en suis la victime; mais, pourvu que les affaires du roi n'en souffrent point, je suis content de mon sort. Vous savez, monsieur, que, hors l'attachement que j'avais pour le roi et un certain point d'honneur, je souhaitais peu de chose pour moi; et si ces deux raisons ne m'avaient retenu, j'aurais désiré d'être en repos et hors de but aux cabales qui me persécutaient, et qui cherchaient toujours à empoisonner ce que je faisais de mieux. J'avoue que j'aurais bien voulu sortir du service par une autre porte que celle-ci; mais je n'ai rien a me reprocher. J'ai prévu, j'ai voulu empêcher, ma disposition était bonne; j'ai soutenu jusqu'au dernier moment, et je voudrais quasi que c'eût été aussi le dernier de ma vie.

Au reste, monsieur, je suis aussi sensible que je le dois à toutes les bontés que vous me témoignez dans la lettre que vous me faites l'honneur de m'écrire. Soyez persuadé, je vous supplie, que j'en conserverai le souvenir tant que je vivrai, et que vous aurez toute ma vie en moi un serviteur que sa méchante fortune vous rend bien inutile.

P. S. J'ajoute un mot à cette lettre pour avoir l'honneur de vous dire, monsieur, qu'il peut y avoir des gens qui ont bien fait, que je ne nomme pas; mais je ne parle que de ce que j'ai vu.

Au reste, monsieur, vous voyez bien par la franchise avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, que cette lettre n'est que pour vous, et pour le roi, si vous jugez à propos de la lui montrer.

Je ne rendrais pas justice à M. de Montperoux, si je ne disais pas qu'il a fait en galant homme et en homme de courage.

Relation de la bataille d'Höchstett par M. le maréchal de Tallard. Aix-la-Chapelle, 3 décembre 1704.

M. le maréchal de Tallard et M. le maréchal de Marcin, étant à la tête des gardes le 13 du mois d'août dernier, virent les ennemis qui marchaient à nous sur huit colonnes. On fit prendre les armes aux deux armées, qui n'étaient point encore mêlées, pour ne pas communiquer à celle de Bavière, en faisant le service conjointement, la fatale maladie que nos chevaux avaient apportée d'Alsace.

La situation de notre droite était assez embarrassante; il y avait un village [Blenheim] qui joignait le Danube, trop éloigné du ruisseau qui nous couvrait [Nebel] pour en défendre le passage, et qui en était aussi trop proche pour pouvoir faire passer les lignes entre ledit village et ledit ruisseau, d'autant plus que le terrain qui était entre deux était absolument soumis à une hauteur qui était du côté qu'occupaient les ennemis.

Cela réduisit M. le maréchal de Tallard à la nécessité de garder ce village. Il y mit d'abord neuf bataillons et quatre régiments de dragons à pied, parce que les chevaux de ces derniers étant presque tous morts de la contagion, ils étaient plus en état de rendre service de cette façon qu'ils n'auraient pu faire à cheval.

Il appuya la droite de la gendarmerie à Blindheim: elle était composée de huit escadrons; la brigade de Broglie, composée de cinq, la joignait; ensuite la brigade de Grignan, réduite à pareil nombre, la maladie ayant si fort diminué les escadrons qu'il les avait fallu doubler.

Ce corps composait toute la première ligne de cavalerie de l'armée de M. de Tallard; l'aile droite de M. le maréchal de Marcin commençait après sans intervalle.

Comme l'ordre qu'avaient ces troupes était de charger les ennemis, sans les laisser former, quand ils passeraient le ruisseau, on n'y avait point mêlé d'infanterie, afin qu'elles pussent se porter plus diligemment où elles seraient nécessaires, et parce que le terrain était absolument ouvert devant elles; mais on avait placé les trois brigades de Royal, de Languedoc et de Zurlauben derrière, qui tenaient presque la même étendue que la cavalerie, tant pour la soutenir si elle était poussée, y ayant des sources propres à poster de l'infanterie où elles étaient, que pour être à portée de rattaquer le village s'il venait à être forcé, parce que de ce poste dépendait

tout, et que les ennemis avaient jeté les deux tiers de leur infanterie sur leur gauche, qui y étaient directement opposés.

Notre seconde ligne était composée de dix escadrons de la brigade de Silly, de neuf bataillons et deux brigades de la Baume, de Stref; celle de la Vallière était en une espèce de réserve auprès du village.

Voilà la première disposition, très-forte, puisque ledit village était bien garni, puisqu'il y avait une ligne de cavalerie qui le joignait prête à se porter sur le ruisseau, que cette ligne était soutenue d'une ligne d'infanterie, celle-là, d'une autre mêlée de cavalerie et d'infanterie, et enfin qu'il y avait, outre cela, un petit corps de réserve.

C'était là la situation des troupes quand la bataille commença.

Voici ce qui arriva: les ennemis firent passer vingt bataillons pour venir attaquer notre village. Ceux qui le défendaient soutinrent cet effort avec vigueur; et comme ces premiers se retiraient, M. de Zurlauben les chargea en flanc avec trois escadrons de la gendarmerie qui firent assez bien leur devoir.

Les ennemis, voulant soutenir leur infanterie, firent passer le ruisseau à de leur cavalerie; cinq escadrons se formèrent en deçà et vis-à-vis de la gendarmerie. D'abord on la fit marcher pour les charger. M. de Zurlauben était à la tête; mais quoiqu'il y eût huit escadrons de notre côté, ainsi que je viens de le dire, les cinq des ennemis soutinrent leur choc et les firent plier.

La seconde ligne de l'aile droite de cavalerie marcha pour les attaquer; mais elle ne les enfonça pas non plus. Pendant ce temps-là ces premiers défilaient toujours; et, avant que nos gens fussent ralliés, il se trouva un corps assez considérable de formé.

Les ennemis ne passaient pas le ruisseau avec moins de diligence vis-à-vis l'aile droite de M. le maréchal de Marcin. La cavalerie qui la composait et l'aile gauche de l'armée de M. de Tallard marchèrent conjointement pour les charger; mais, quoique supérieure en nombre, la charge des nôtres fut inutile: les ennemis ne furent point rompus.

La seconde ligne, qui vint pour soutenir la première qui avait été repoussée, ne fut pas plus heureuse; en sorte que le

temps qu'il fallut pour rallier tout cela ayant donné aux ennemis celui d'achever de se former en deçà, ils firent passer tant de cavalerie, qu'ils se trouvèrent en état de se servir contre nous de la supériorité que leur donnait le nombre; car les deux tiers de leurs forces et de leurs troupes d'élite étaient employés contre notre droite, qui ne faisait pas le tiers des nôtres, le corps d'armée de l'électeur étant encore sur la gauche de l'armée de M. de Marcin.

Je ne dirai point que les ennemis, ayant rattaqué le village pendant ce temps-là, en furent encore repoussés, ni que M. de Clérambault, qui y commandait, croyant être trop faible, avait dégarni sans ordre cette ligne d'infanterie qui était derrière la cavalerie, pour en faire rentrer une partie dans le village et en rapprocher l'autre.

Je ne parlerai point non plus d'une charge qui se fit avec ce qui s'était rallié de cavalerie et de neuf bataillons de la seconde ligne d'infanterie, laquelle pourtant ébranla la première ligne des ennemis, et qui aurait eu plus de succès si la gendarmerie et la cavalerie n'avaient pas plié et n'avaient pas abandonné cette pauvre infanterie, parce qu'il faudrait étendre cette relation à l'infini, et je me contenterai de faire voir que la bataille a été perdue, premièrement, parce que la gendarmerie n'a pu enfoncer les cinq escadrons anglais dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus; parce que la droite de M. de Marcin et la gauche de M. de Tallard n'ont pu non plus accabler ce qui était devant elles, avant qu'ils fussent fortifiés en continuant de passer le ruisseau; parce que les deux secondes lignes de droite et de gauche de la cavalerie n'ont pas mieux réussi, et enfin parce que la seconde ligne d'infanterie a été abandonnée.

Il y a eu tant de relations sur ce qui s'est passé dans le village, qu'il serait inutile d'en reparler; et je crois que, quand celle-ci aura été lue, on verra bien clairement que le malheur qui nous est arrivé est venu de ce qu'on n'a pas fait plier les ennemis aux premières charges, et de ce que toute leur force, ayant tourné vers la droite, la gauche, qui n'était attaquée que par un corps inférieur, s'est contentée de soutenir avec succès sans s'être crue en état de nous secourir.

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Lettre de M. de... Du camp de Tuttlingen, 21 août 1704.

Je vous envoie, monsieur, la copie de la lettre que j'écris à M. de Chamillart, pour lui demander la charge de commissaire général de la cavalerie. Je lui fais un petit détail de ce qui s'est passé de mon côté, M. le maréchal de Tallard, qui est pris prisonnier, ayant assez de choses à mander sur son compte sans parler des particuliers. Il m'a vu charger trois fois avec ma brigade, et me fit l'honneur de me dire qu'il était content, et qu'il aurait souhaité que la gendarmerie qui était sur ma droite eût fait de même; je n'ai pas vu d'officier général pendant toute l'action à ma tête. Toute l'armée crie fort contre la disposition de M. de Tallard, et effectivement je crois qu'il aurait mieux fait de ne pas mettre toute son infanterie dans le village où sa droite était appuyée, et de mettre plus de troupes à son corps de bataille, qui est l'endroit par où les ennemis ont gagné la bataille. On peut dire aussi sans médisance que MM. les officiers généraux n'ont été d'aucun secours à M. le maréchal; ils ont laissé passer aux ennemis un marais et petit ruisseau que nous avions devant notre camp sans le défendre, et les ennemis étaient en deçà sur trois lignes avant que personne eût chargé. M. de Marcin de son côté n'a pas voulu aider de ses troupes l'armée de M. de Tallard, quoiqu'il lui en ait envoyé demander pendant l'action. Je ne vous ferais pas tous ces détails si je ne vous envoyais ma lettre par M. le marquis de Rieux, qui est de mes amis, et qui a bien voulu s'en charger. Je vous prie de ne la montrer à personne. Ce qu'il y a de plus malheureux dans cette action, c'est que M. de Clérambault, lieutenant général, qui commandait les vingt-sept bataillons qui étaient dans le village de la droite et douze escadrons de dragons, n'ait pas songé à se retirer avec ce corps; il s'est noyé dans le Danube à quatre heures du soir, deux heures avant la fin de l'affaire, la tête lui ayant tourné. On condamne fort M. de Blanzac, qui commandait sous lui, de ne s'être pas retiré, et d'avoir fait une capitulation aussi honteuse. Si ce corps s'était retiré, comme il n'y avait rien de plus possible, les ennemis perdaient autant que nous, et nous n'aurions pas été obligés de quitter le pays. L'armée de M. de Tallard perd vingt mille hommes dans cette occasion, tués ou pris, et les ennemis avouent dix mille hommes tués ou blessés. Les ennemis avaient plus de vingt-cinq mille

hommes plus que nous, de leur aveu. Le canon a commencé à tirer de part et d'autre entre huit et neuf heures du matin; il y en avait plus de quatre-vingts pièces de chaque côté. On a commencé à charger à onze heures du matin, et cela a duré jusqu'à six heures du soir. Voilà en gros le détail de cette affaire. Comme je ne sais pas si mon père est en Auvergne, je vous prie de lui envoyer ma lettre avec l'état des officiers du régiment tués ou blessés. Son pauvre régiment d'infanterie a été tout tué; il n'en reste que le sieur Sauge, major, qui a deux coups de mousquet, qui serait mort si je ne l'avais retiré chez moi et n'avais pris soin de le faire panser. Je vous serai très-obligé de vouloir bien écrire à M. de Chamillart en ma faveur. Quoique je sois persuadé que le roi ne me donnera pas cette charge, je ne veux pas avoir à me reprocher de ne l'avoir pas demandée. Je viens de faire une campagne bien fatigante et bien périlleuse, et qui, je vous assure, fera prendre à bien des gens le parti de la retraite; et si le roi ne donne pas quelque gratification aux officiers du régiment, il leur sera impossible de le remettre.

Lettre de M. le baron de Montigny-Languet. 25 août 1704.

Voici, monsieur, le seul moment que j'ai pu avoir depuis notre malheureuse bataille d'Höchstett; et comme mes blessures me donnent un peu de relâche, j'essayerai de vous informer de ce que j'ai vu dans cette affaire, que j'avais crue être le comble de notre bonheur, et qui a été tout le contraire, par l'envie que M. le maréchal de Tallard a eue de combattre.

Les ennemis, ayant été avertis que nous avions passé le Danube à Lauingen, quittèrent la Bavière, et, ayant assemblé à Donawert toutes leurs forces, passèrent en même temps, supérieurs à nous de quarante à cinquante escadrons et de quelques bataillons. Nous marchâmes les uns aux autres, et nous nous portâmes en bataille sur deux lignes à une petite lieue d'Höchstett, la droite au Danube et la gauche à la montagne et à un bois, une réserve derrière un village à notre droite dans un coude du Danube [Blenheim], ce qui a été la perte de M. le maréchal de Tallard, faute d'un pont pour retraite en cas de besoin; un autre village [Oberglau] au centre à la tête de nos deux lignes, où nos forces d'infanterie étaient sous les ordres de M. de Blainville, et qui ont toujours battu les ennemis. A

notre gauche, nous avions un village devant nous que nous brûlâmes [Lutzingen]; cette gauche était appuyée sur un bois qui valait mieux que tous les villages, puisqu'il n'était pas d'une si grande garde.

Le long de ces villages régnait seulement un ruisseau de deux pieds de large, qui formait un petit marais très-desséché à cause des grandes chaleurs, ce qui a trompé beaucoup de nos généraux, qui le croyaient plus mauvais. Ce ruisseau était la seule séparation qu'il y eût entre les deux armées. Celle des ennemis vint se mettre devant nous en bataille à six heures du matin, de manière que cette grande plaine se trouva toute noire et couverte de troupes; et à sept heures trois quarts commença une canonnade des plus rudes de part et d'autre, et où la droite de M. de Tallard avait toujours la supériorité sur les ennemis, leur ayant fait replier deux fois leur gauche qui venait se former devant nous.

Sur les dix heures, les Anglais qui composaient cette gauche voulurent tenter le passage de ce ruisseau devant M. de Tallard; mais ils furent repoussés avec perte considérable. Son altesse électorale, qui se portait par tous les lieux les plus exposés, partit à toutes jambes de la gauche pour venir à la droite de M. le maréchal de Tallard, où l'affaire commença fort vigoureusement au moment qu'elle arriva, qui était sur les onze heures. Notre aile droite de cavalerie, composée de la gendarmerie du roi qui était près du village [Blenheim], fut attaquée par la cavalerie anglaise, laquelle fut d'abord repoussée jusque sur l'infanterie qui se disposait à attaquer ledit village de M. le maréchal de Tallard, ce qui fut cause que son altesse électorale s'y porta en même temps; mais y ayant trouvé une fière disposition, notre infanterie retranchée à vingt pas des ennemis, retourna sur l'heure à la cavalerie; mais, en sortant du village entre les deux feux, nous aperçûmes quelques escadrons de notre gendarmerie en fuite qui ne se ralliaient pas, ce qui obligea l'électeur à dire à ses adjudants généraux, auxquels il avait ordonné de ne le pas quitter: "Voilà la gendarmerie qui se sauve; est-il possible? Allez, messieurs; dites-leur que je suis ici présent; ralliez-les, et qu'ils retournent à la charge."

Ce fut dans ce moment que, partant de la main, je courus aux gendarmes, et leur ayant dit plus que l'électeur ne nous

avait ordonné, quelques-uns se rallièrent et revinrent à la charge; ce fut dans cette occasion qu'ayant enfoncé un escadron anglais, quelques gendarmes qui étaient avec moi ayant été tués, je reçus deux coups de sabre sur la tête, un coup d'épée qui me perce le bras, une contusion d'une balle à la jambe, et mon cheval blessé; alors étant environné de toutes parts sans espérance de salut, je fus pris par un officier, lequel, m'ôtant un de mes pistolets qui me restait, me dit, "Il y a bon quartier, suivez-moi; je vous ferai bien panser, et donnez-moi votre croix," qui est celle de l'ordre de Wurtemberg que je portais. Il la détacha lui-même et la prit avec la chaîne d'or; et pour en être mieux traité et éviter tout autre malheur, j'eus la faiblesse de lui donner cent trente-quatre louis d'or que j'avais en une bourse; mais tout autre en pareil cas en aurait peut-être fait autant pour les attendrir et éviter d'être massacré.

Il y eut, dans le même temps encore, une autre charge de la gendarmerie, qui fut également repoussée; mais quelques escadrons ayant fait plier la cavalerie anglaise, ceux qui m'emmenaient furent obligés de se retirer au galop et d'essuyer toute la bordée de la mousqueterie de M. de Tallard qui était dans le village, ce qui les rompit, et par un grand bonheur je ne fus blessé d'aucune des balles qui pleuvaient de tous côtés; mais celui qui m'emmenait en main, ayant reçu un coup qui le fit tomber sur son cheval et l'obligea de lâcher la bride du mien qu'il tenait, je la repris au plus vite, aussi bien que mes éperons, pour retourner à nos gens; mais quel chagrin pour moi quand je vis que les grenadiers à cheval anglais, qui avaient déjà été repoussés, retournaient à la charge avec la cavalerie anglaise, et culbutaient derechef toute notre gendarmerie et la cavalerie qui la soutenait, et qu'à la faveur d'un si vilain mouvement, toute la cavalerie de leur gauche débouchait le ruisseau et occupait déjà notre terrain, de manière qu'en passant au travers de leurs lignes je regagnai notre centre, qui était mêlé avec la cavalerie ennemie, mais cependant qui soutenait encore mieux son terrain, qu'il perdit pourtant à la fin.

Pendant cette mauvaise manœuvre de notre droite, la gauche, qui était composée de la cavalerie et infanterie bavaroise, et de toute l'armée de M. le maréchal de Marcin,

comme aussi ce que commandait au centre M. de Blainville, enfonçaient les ennemis, et par cinq différentes charges avaient entièrement battu toute leur droite, de sorte que M. l'électeur, qui s'était porté partout dans le centre et à la gauche pour encourager tout le monde par sa présence, qui croyait alors la première fuite de la gendarmerie rétablie, et qui se trouvait maître non-seulement de l'artillerie de la droite des ennemis, mais de quantité de drapeaux et étendards, croyait la bataille entièrement gagnée. Mais il sut que la droite de notre armée était vigoureusement repoussée, à quoi il ajouta foi d'autant plus aisément, que les fuyards étaient déjà à plus de demi-lieue sur leurs derrières, et que tout leur terrain était occupé par quantité de troupes des ennemis; et comme on se battait depuis le matin, et qu'il était huit heures du soir, il craignit que la gauche ne fût coupée, et fit battre la retraite.

C'est là où l'habileté de M. de Marcin parut, puisqu'il ne se retira aucun bataillon ni escadron en désordre, mais toujours redoublant des salves sur ceux qui les voulaient suivre; et près de Dillingen et Lauingen il rejoignit les étendards de la gendarmerie et la cavalerie, qui s'y étaient retirées. Alors il apprit avec beaucoup de chagrin que M. le maréchal de Tallard avait voulu périr dans le village, et ne s'était pas voulu retirer, comme on le lui avait mandé, avec vingt-sept bataillons et quatre régiments de dragons, et fit par là la perte de la plus grande bataille qui ait été donnée. Si ce maréchal se fût retiré avec ses troupes, il est certain que l'avantage était de notre côté, les ennemis ayant perdu beaucoup plus de monde que nous dans le choc; nous avions quantité de drapeaux, et les ennemis ne nous auraient pu rien faire de toute la campagne, au lieu que, par la perte que nous avons faite, nous avons été obligés de nous retirer, abandonnant tous nos magasins, et nos vivres nous étant coupés aussi bien que toute la meilleure infanterie de l'électeur et vingt-trois escadrons, tant de ses dragons que de sa cavalerie qui étaient vers le Tyrol, lesquels, suivant toute apparence, ne nous pourront plus rejoindre. Nous sortons avec peu de pain, après avoir brûlé une bonne partie de nos équipages. Nous sommes enfin venus joindre M. de Villeroy avec les débris de trois armées.

Je ne puis vous dire de la faute de qui vient une perte si

considérable; mais il est certain que la gendarmerie et la cavalerie de M. de Tallard sont la cause de la perte de cette grande bataille; que nous avions trop de bataillons à cette droite, et que dans le centre il nous en manquait. D'ailleurs rien n'a été si bien conduit que la marche des ennemis, qui nous étaient supérieurs, et qui, outre leurs lignes égales aux nôtres par leurs trois attaques, étaient en colonnes de cinq à six lignes qui se soutenaient. Si nous avons tort, c'est d'avoir risqué cette bataille dans le temps où les armes de France étaient glorieuses de tous côtés; il valait bien mieux faire tenir ensemble toutes les forces de l'empire réunies, nous retrancher et ne rien hasarder. Les ennemis se seraient consumés et ruinés, et auraient été obligés de s'en retourner. Vous savez, monsieur, mieux que moi à qui en est la faute. Son altesse électorale et M. de Marcin ne voulaient pas hasarder; et s'il l'avait fallu, au moins fallait-il rassembler toutes les forces de Bavière qui étaient dispersées de part et d'autre, pour la garde des places et passages, qui présentement n'en sont pas moins perdues.

VI, VII. *Ramillies*

THE following are two accounts of the battle of Ramillies; the first (VI) by Capt. Parker, whose account of Blenheim will be found on pp. 111–117, above; the second (VII) by Lord Orkney, who commanded the bulk of the English infantry, and made the successful feint against the enemy's left that fatally weakened his centre at Ramillies. It is clear from Orkney's account that the feint had been carried further and with more vigour before it was stopped than many narratives of the battle have allowed. On this see also *Hist. MSS. Com. Portland*, IV, p. 310, where Lieut.-Colonel Cranstoun writes: "The Earl of Orkney who commanded the British infantry upon the right had marched them over the ruisseau and bog and was himself on the head of the English guards and first battalion marching into the village of Offuz, and was already come under the enemy's fire, when Brigadier Cadogan came with orders, as he pretended from the Duke, and obliged him to retire." Lord Orkney's letter is in *E.H.R.*, April 1904.

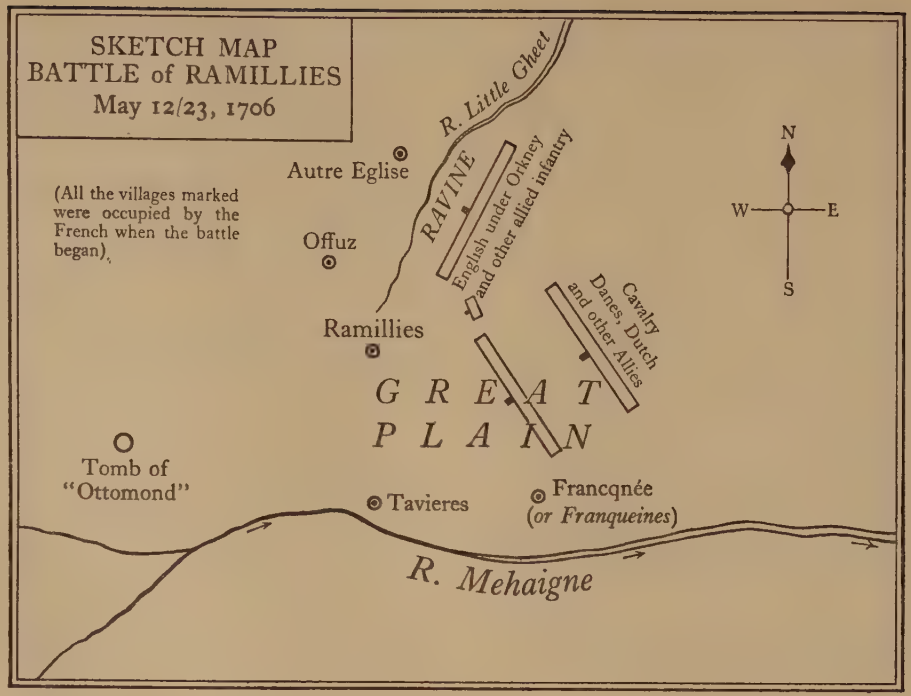
VI. *Ramillies* (Capt. Parker)

Upon our taking the field, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered ſix hand-mills for grinding corn, to be delivered to every *Britiſh* Regiment, as well Horſe as Foot. This occaſioned a report, that he deſigned to march us to *Italy*, to the relief of the Duke of *Savoy*, which had been a fine jaunt indeed: But whatever his Grace's deſign was, it is ſtill a myſtery, for any thing I have been able to learn; for we never had occaſion of hand-mills in *Flanders*.

In the beginning of *May* our Army took the field, and aſſembled at *Burklome* near the demoliſhed Lines. Here the Duke had an account, that the Elector and *Villeroy* were aſſembling the *French* Army on the plains of *Mont St. Andrea*; whereupon he advanced to *Hanoy*. At this place he had intelligence, that the enemy had the ſame day taken up the ſtrong camp of *Ramillies*, which was within three leagues of us. Thereupon he ſent an expreſs to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, who commanded the *Daniſh* Horſe, to let him know that he deſigned to engage the enemy next day, and therefore that he would join him as ſoon as poſſible.

Our Army at this time conſiſted of 117 Squadrons (including the *Daniſh* Horſe, which were fourteen of them), and 80 Battalions; and the next day, being *Whitſunday* the 12th of *May*, O.S. by three in the morning, we marched up to the enemy in four Columns.

The enemy had 132 Squadrons, and 90 Battalions, beſide the advantage of the ground. It was a ſpot they had made choice of two months before; for in the month of *March*, the Elector and *Villeroy* had taken two Engineers with them, and rode out, as it were to divert themſelves with hunting and hawking. At this time they examined all the ground from *Louvain* to the *Mehaign*, and finding the ground about *Ramillies* the fitteſt place to draw the Duke of *Marlborough* to a Battle; they ordered the Engineers to draw a Plan of it, and of the Order of battle, and ſent it to Court for their approbation. The Plan was highly approved of, and ſuch a number of Troops ſent them as they required; and among them were as many of the Houſhold Troops, as could be ſpared.


SKETCH MAP
BATTLE of RAMILLIES
May 12/23, 1706
(All the villages marked were occupied by the French when the battle began).
R. Little Gheet
Autre Eglise
RAVINE
English under Orkney and other allied infantry
Offuz
Ramillies
Cavalry Danes, Dutch and other Allies
G R E A T
P L A I N
N
W
E
S
Tomb of "Ottomond"
Tavieres
Francqnée (or Franqueines)
R. Mehaigne

The nature of the ground, and diſpoſition of their Army was as follows. They had the *Mehaign* on their Right, with the Village of *Franqueines* on the bank of it; in this Village they had placed a good body of Foot and Dragoons, and had alſo thrown up ſuch an Intrenchment, as the time would admit of. From hence to the Village of *Ramillies*, (which was a little to the Left of their Center) was a fine plain of near half a League in length, where they knew the main ſtreſs of the Battle muſt fall. On this Plain therefore, they drew up the choiceſt, and the greateſt number of their Cavalry, interlined with their beſt Infantry. In the Village of *Ramillies*, (before which they had alſo thrown up a trench) they placed twenty Battalions with ten pieces of Cannon. From *Ramillies* runs the River *Gheete*, which makes the ground on both ſides marſhy, and not paſſable, eſpecially for Horſe. Along this River to the Villages of *Offuſe* and *Autereglíſe*, which covered their left flank, was poſted a thin Line of the worſt of their Infantry, with Squadrons after a ſcattering manner poſted in their Rear. This was the diſpoſition of the enemy, when our Army came up to them.

We drew up in two Lines oppoſite them, having a riſing ground on our Right, whereon a great part of our *Britiſh* Troops were drawn up. From hence the Duke had a fair view of the enemy, and ſaw evidently, that the ſtreſs of the Battle muſt be on the Plain, where they were drawn up in a formidable manner: He ſaw alſo, that things muſt go hard with him, unleſs he could oblige them to break the diſpoſition they had made on the plain. On this occaſion his Grace ſhewed a genius vaſtly ſuperior to the *French* Generals; for though he knew the ground along the *Gheete* was not paſſable, yet he ordered our right wing to march down in great order, with Pontoons to lay bridges, as if he deſigned to attack them in their weak part. The Elector and *Villeroy* perceiving this, immediately ordered off from the Plain, an intire Line both of Horſe and Foot, to reinforce thoſe on the *Gheete*. When the Duke obſerved that theſe had arrived there, he ſent orders to our right wing to retire eaſily up the hill, without altering their aſpect. This we did, until our Rear line had got on the back of the riſing ground, out of ſight of the enemy: But the

Front line halted on the ſummit of the hill in full view of them, and there ſtood, ready to march down, and attack them. As ſoon as our Rear line had retired out of ſight of the enemy, they immediately faced to the Left, and both Horſe and Foot, with a good many Squadrons, that ſlunk out of the Front line, marched down to the Plain, as faſt as they could; by this time the greater part of our Horſe of the Left wing had arrived there alſo, and we were now ſuperior in numbers to them in that quarter. The Duke ſoon put them in order for attacking the enemy on the Plain; and about one o'clock ſent orders to the Veldt Mareſhal, to begin the battle on the Left. At the ſame time he ordered four Brigades of Foot, to attack the Village of *Ramillies*, and then ordered the Troops on the plain to advance and charge their main body.

In this engagement there was great variety of action; ſometimes their Squadrons and ſometimes our's giving way in different places; and as the fate of the day depended intirely on the behaviour of the Troops on the plain; ſo both ſides exerted themſelves, with the utmoſt vigour for a long time. The Duke was in all places where his preſence was requiſite; and in the hurry of the action happened to be unhorſed, and in great danger of his life; but was remounted by Captain *Moleſworth*, one of his Aid de Camps, the only perſon of his Retinue then near him; who ſeeing him in manifeſt danger of falling into the hands of the purſuing enemy, ſuddenly threw himſelf from his horſe, and helped the Duke to mount him. His Grace, by this means, got off between our Lines; the Captain being immediately after ſurrounded by the enemy; from which danger (as well as that of our fire) he was, at laſt, providentially delivered. His Grace, about an hour after, had another narrow eſcape; when in ſhifting back from Captain *Moleſworth*'s horſe to his own, Colonel *Bringfield* (his firſt Eſcuyer) holding the Stirrup, was killed by a cannon-ſhot from the Village of *Ramillies*. Notwithſtanding which, the Duke immediately rode up to the head of his Troops; and his preſence animated them to that degree, that they preſſed home upon the enemy, and made them ſhrink and give back. At this very inſtant the Duke of *Wirtenberg* came up with the *Daniſh* Horſe, and perceiving an open between the Village of *Franqueines* and

their main body, fell in on the Right flank of their Horſe, with ſuch courage and reſolution, that he drove them in upon their Center. This put them into great diſorder; and our Troops taking this advantage, preſſed ſo cloſe upon them, that they could never recover their order. The Elector and *Villeroy* did all that was poſſible to keep them from breaking: But our Troops ſtuck ſo cloſe to them, that they were put to the rout. The Houſhold-Troops, who had behaved to admiration during the whole action, rallied and made a ſtand for ſome time: But as all the reſt had fled, they were obliged to follow them, leaving the Foot that had been drawn up with them in the field (who were of no manner of uſe to them), to be cut to pieces.

The Veldt Mareſhal had alſo routed thoſe where he attacked, who fled in a ſcattering manner toward *Charleroy*. The Troops in *Ramillies* defended themſelves to the laſt, till they ſaw their Troops drove out of the Field; upon which they drew off, and made toward their Left Wing: But were moſt of them cut to pieces before they could reach it. Their Left Wing, which was poſted along the *Gheete*, and the Front Line of our Right Wing, (in which was our Regiment) ſtood looking on without firing a ſhot; and as we were poſted on an eminence, and were diſengaged, we had a fair view of the whole Battle on the Plain.

When the Elector and *Villeroy* ſaw all was loſt, they, with ſuch Troops as they could bring together, made the beſt of their way for *Louvain*, and ſent to their Left Wing to join them there, in order to make a ſtand at the *Dyle*, as they had done the laſt year: But the Lord *Marlborough* (perhaps ſenſible of his miſtake at that time) purſued ſo cloſe with the Horſe, that he cut between their Left Wing and *Louvain*, which obliged them to diſperſe and fly the other way, every man ſhifting for himſelf. The Elector and *Villeroy* finding that the Duke was cloſe at their heels, turned off from *Louvain*, and made toward *Vilvorde*, hoping to make the Canal which runs from *Bruſſels* thither: But the Duke ſtill purſuing them cloſe, they quitted *Vilvorde*, and never ſtopped, until they fled to *Liſle*, with about 2000 Horſe only. The Duke having paſſed the Canal of *Vilvorde*, halted at *Grimn-*

berg, where he waited for the coming up of the Foot. Theſe continued marching after him with all the expedition they could, without obſerving any other order than this, that every Regiment kept their men as cloſe together as they poſſibly could; and none of them halted above an hour at a time, till they joined him.

Thus ended the famous Battle of *Ramillies*. The enemy had at leaſt 7000 killed, and a great many more taken priſoners; and as they were diſperſed about the Country, their loſs by deſertion was very conſiderable. Upon the whole, their loſs was computed to be upwards of 30,000, beſide 60 pieces of Cannon, 8 Mortars, a great number of Colours, Standards and Kettle-drums, taken. Their Tents and Baggage eſcaped us, having been ſent off before the Battle. The loſs on our ſide was computed to be more than 5000 killed and wounded.

VII. *Ramillies* (Lord Orkney)

Camp at Braunchein, 24th May 1706, 7 o'clock.

You will be extremely glad to hear we have fought a very great battle yesterday and beat the French, and I in very good health, but am hardly able to hold up my head, I am so weary and faint; for it is 48 hours I have not eat nor drank, but once or twice a glass of wine and bit of bread. I really cannot tell you any particulars yet of this battle, nor well what loss we have, nor what they have.

We could hardly fail of meeting, since we marched with a firm resolution to attack them; and I find they did the same out of their line to attack us. However, they seeing us coming up to them, they took up a very good post at the head of the Geet, and possessed themselves of several villages on their front, and a marshy ground with a little ruisseau before them; so that, when we came to attack, it was impossible for us to extend our line, so were drawn up in several lines, one behind another, and indeed even in confusion enough, which I own gave me at first a very ill prospect of things. But, since it was so, we made our effort at a village in the centre, which they call Ramillies; and that post was attacked very furiously by

chiefly stranger troops, except Churchil's and Mordaunt's regiments, who have suffered greatly. This post was at last forced and taken, and our army pierced into others by that village, where our horse and theirs had some sharp activity. My Lord Malbro' was rid over, but got other squadrons, which he led up again. Major B[r]ingfield, holding his stirrop to give him another horse, was shot with a canon bullet which went thro' my Lord's leggs; in truth there was no scarcity of 'em.

Where I was with most of the English foot, there was a morass and ruisseau before us, which they said was impossible to pass over. But however we tryd, and, after some difficulty, got over with ten or twelve battalions; and M^r^ Lumley brought over some squadrons of horse with very great difficulty; and I endeavoured to possess myself of a village, which the French brought down a good part of their line to take possession of, and they were on one side of ye village, and I on the other; but they always retired as we advanced. As I was going to take possession, I had ten aid-de-camps to me to come off, for the horse could not sustain me. We had a great deal of fire at this, both musquetry and canon; and indeed I think I never had more shot about my ears; and I confess it vexed me to retire. However we did it very well and in good order, and, whenever the French pressed upon us, with the battalion of guards and my own, I was always able to make them stand and retire. Cadogan came and told me it was impossible I could be sustained by the horse if we went on then, and, since my Lord could not attack everywhere, he would make the grand attack in the centre and try to pierce there, which, I bless God, succeeded.

I don't know myself what prisoners we have; I am told several major-generalls and others of less note. Lord John Hay's dragoons and others got in upon the Regiment de Roy, which they beat intirely. There is at least 7 or 800 of 'em prisoners, and everywhere you see colours and standards, and I hear there is at least 40 pieces of canon and a great deal of their baggage. For, whenever they saw that village forced, they immediately retired with such expedition that one could hardly think it possible. We pursued them till dark night, but

their horse it was impossible to get at. Their foot Mr Lumley with severall English squadrons came nigh, but without foot it was impossible to attack them. He sent to me that, if I could come up with the foot, he did not doubt but we would take eight or nine batallions of 'em that were in a body together. I marched I am sure as fast as it was possible for men to march, and ordered them to lose no time, and that I would ride up to Mr Lumley myself. I own it vexed me to see a great body of 'em going off, and not many horse with them; but, for my heart, I could not get up our foot in time; and they dispersed and got into strong ground where it was impossible to follow them.

We are just now met with the left of the army, for all night we knew nothing of one another, and Mr Lumley and I had resolved to march streight to the Dyle to their lines. But here we are endeavouring to make a camp and form in some order, for we look like a beaten army. I really fancy we shall march to morrow to the Dyle to see if it be possible to force their lines now in the consternation they are in. That is the place certainly they will make head again, for their lines are strong. I am sure, whenever we can get at 'em with any kind of reason, these troops will never stand us. They were 74 batallions, 128 squadrons, of the best troops in France with orders to attack us; we 73 battalions, 123 squadrons, so there was a pretty near equality if there had been any in ye ground. We had two young gentlemen prisoners with us all night, both men of great quality—a nephew of Marishal Luxembourg and Marishall Tallard's only son.

I am afraid the express will be gone; so, being extremely fatigued, God bless you and send us a happy meeting. I doubt these lines will be a troublesome piece of work; yet pray don't fail to send a copy to brother Hamilton and Selkirk. I have several of your letters, but cannot answer them till I have some rest. The battle begun yesterday at 12 and ended chiefly about 5 at night, when we pierced and got the better. Tho' this be of great consequence, it is nothing like Hochstet because of the numbers taken in ye village. Maybe they have lost 5 or 6 thousand men, but truely it is hard to guess.

VIII. *A Scottish Cameronian Colonel in the Blenheim and Ramillies Campaigns*

A DOUR covenanting Scots Colonel goes through the campaigns of 1704–6 with little love for the English or his other allies, particularly the Popish ones, but with a firm conviction that it is God's will the French should be beaten. The following extracts are from his Diary (*ed.* 1824). *His dates are Old Style, eleven days behind the dates as given by authorities quoted above.*

1704. *April* 30. *Sabbath.* Marching all day, but alas, involved in sin by company and idle discourse. A sad place to be in an army on Sabbath, where nothing is to be heard but oaths and profane language....

May 17....Lord, I tremble to think on the profanity and wickedness of this army that I am in, and what judgments we are like to pull down upon our own heads; for the English army are sinners exceedingly before the Lord, and I have no hopes of success, or that this expedition shall prove to our honour....

May 19—22. Marching every day. Arrived at Mentz after a long journey.

May 27. Army resting this day. I went into Heydelberg in company and hurry, and have no time for retirement.

May 28. *Sabbath.* Army marching. By being in town I had retirement, for I shook off all company, and retired alone upon the banks of the Neckar the whole forenoon. I hope I had communion with God; my covenant with Christ ratified; my Ebenezer here set up; his presence implored: And this I beg, dear Lord, if this be an unlawful expedition, that thou wouldst yet turn me back; if thou go not with me, carry me no farther. When I consider this, that we are here assisting those oppressors that have wasted the church and people of God, persecuted and oppressed them, it makes me afraid the quarrel is not right, and that we shall not prosper; though I be satisfied that our quarrel against France is a very just one....

June 21. Easy and serene all day; cheerfully committing myself and all that concerns me into the hands of God; fetching all my supplies of courage, and strength, and furniture, for going through the duties of my function, from him alone; for indeed I pretend to no stock of my own either of courage or conduct. In the evening I witnessed one of the hottest actions I have seen. It continued from six to eight o'clock. We gained our point, and beat the enemy from their post, and yet we have no reason to boast or think highly of ourselves. The British value themselves too much, and think nothing can stand before them. We have suffered considerably on this occasion, and have no cause to be proud. During the action I was straitened in praying for success and victory to our people, and had not enlargement to seek any thing but that God would get the praise to himself, and work so as the arm of flesh might not rob him of his glory. O that God might reform this army, that good men might have some pleasure in it. When we see what an uncertain thing our life is—now in health, and the next moment in eternity, it is wonderful we are not more affected by it. I see also that the smallest accidents give a turn to the greatest actions, either to prosper or defeat them: that human wisdom, courage, or any thing else we value ourselves upon, is but weak and fallible. There was only a detachment of 130 of our regiment engaged in this battle [Storming of the Schellenberg, p. 103, above].

June 22. In the evening I went alone into the field of battle, and there got a preaching from the dead. The carcases were very thick strewed upon the ground, naked and corrupting; yet all this works no impression or reformation upon us, seeing the bodies of our comrades and friends lying as dung upon the face of the earth. Lord, make me humble and thankful! I trusted in thee that I should set up many Ebenezers through Germany, and here in the field of the slain do I set up my memorial, *Hitherto thou hast helped me.*

* * * * * *

August 2. Many deliverances I have met with, but this day I have had the greatest ever I experienced. We fought a bloody

battle [Blenheim], and, by the mercy of God, have obtained one of the greatest and completest victories the age can boast of. In the morning, while marching towards the enemy, I was enabled to exercise a lively faith, relying and encouraging myself in God, whereupon I was easy, sedate, and cheerful. I believed firmly that his angels had me in charge, and that not a bone should be broken. During all the little intervals of action, I kept looking to God for strength and courage, and had a plentiful through-bearing, both to keep up my own heart, and help to discharge my duty well in my station. My faith was so lively during the action, that I sometimes said within myself, Lord, it were easy for thee to cause thy angels to lay all these men dead on the place where they stand, or bring them in all prisoners to us. And for encouraging our regiment, I spoke it aloud, That we should either chase them from their post, or take them prisoners; and I cannot but observe the event at seven o'clock at night, when they laid down their arms to us. Twenty-six regiments (some say thirty) surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, to the Duke of Marlborough, and our regiment was one of those that guarded them.

This victory has indeed cost a great deal of blood, especially to the English. I was always of opinion that the English would pay for it in this country; and when I consider, how, on all occasions, we conquer, yet with much blood spilt, I am at a loss to know what the reason may be. Perhaps it is that our cause is good, and therefore God gives us success in our enterprises, but our persons very wicked, and therefore our carcases are strewed like dung upon the earth in Germany. Among the rest I have also got a small touch of a wound in the throat.

* * * * * *

1706. *May* 12. *Sabbath.* Day of the battle; and here I have one of the most remarkable Ebenezers of my life to set up. This day we fought with the French, and by the great mercy of God did beat them. The battle was not general, but it was hot to those that were engaged. Our regiment was no farther engaged, but that we were cannonaded for some hours, and had several men killed and wounded. I was not near the Duke; but upon our wing we had great want of Generals and

distinct orders; and some of those we had, seemed somewhat confused: So it was not our conduct, but kind Providence. I observe also that the English had but small part in this victory. They are the boldest sinners in our army, therefore God will choose other instruments. Also the English have got a great vogue and reputation for courage, and are perhaps puffed up upon it; and so God humbles their pride, as it were, by throwing them by. I was easy, and helped to discharge my duty well. We were very much fatigued with the pursuit, and lay all the night in the open fields without cover. Give me grace, O Lord, never to forget this great and glorious day at Ramillies.

* * * * * *

May 19. A fatiguing march this Sabbath. All day I met with what I fear and hate in this trade, viz. cursing, swearing, filthy language, &c. yet though it was a hell around me, I bless the Lord there was a heaven within. We are still pursuing our victory, and they are still fleeing before us. There is certainly something in this affair beyond human working.

V

MARLBOROUGH PAPERS

SECTION FIVE

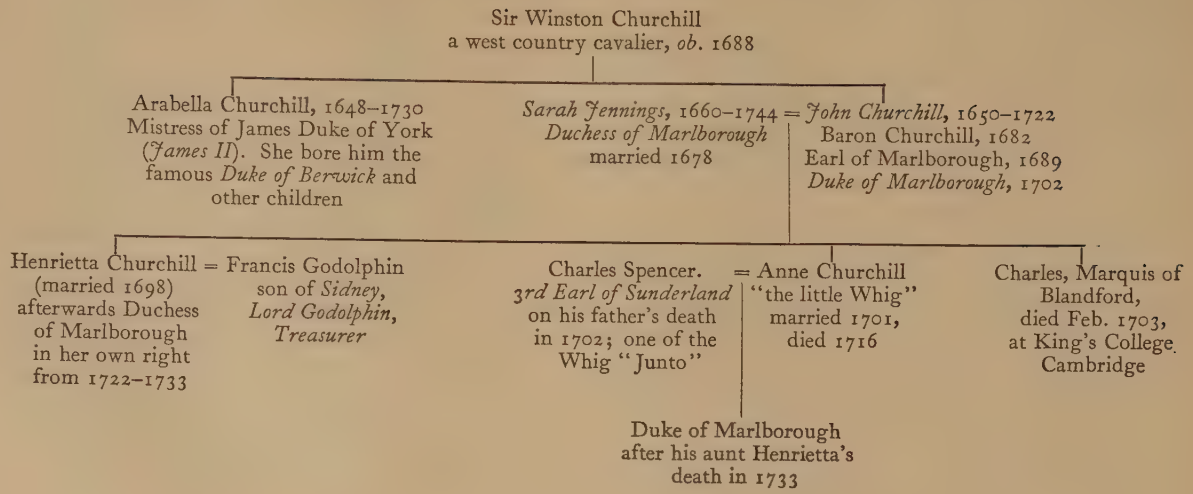
MARLBOROUGH PAPERS

THIS SECTION is drawn from two well-known sources, firstly the Marlborough papers printed in Coxe's *Memoirs of Marlborough*, and secondly two short extracts from the famous *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, written by herself.

These letters, especially the Duke's own, show the connection between home and foreign affairs, the course of political faction at home and the course of the war abroad. They should be studied in the lights afforded by such modern authorities as Leadam, *Political History of England*, 1702–60 (Longman), chapters I–V, pp. 1–107; Atkinson, *Marlborough* (Heroes of Nations Series); and chapters XIII–XIV of Keith Feiling's *History of the Tory Party*.

These letters of Marlborough, particularly those to his wife, are the best key we have to that very difficult problem of the character and motives of the great man whose action dominates the history of the time.

TABLE OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S RELATIONS



I. *Coxe. Memoirs of Marlborough*

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (July 22, 1701*)

A GREAT deal of time was spent in the emperor's ministers complaining of the Treaty of Partition, and when we came to the business for which we met, they would have the foundation of the treaty to be for lessening the power of France, and assisting the emperor in his just rights to the monarchy of Spain. But the pensionary would not consent to any thing further, than that the emperor ought to be satisfied with having Flanders, which would be a security to the Dutch, and Milan, as a fief of the empire. After four hours' wrangling, the two envoys went away; and then I endeavoured to let the pensionary see that no treaty of this kind would be acceptable in England, if there were not care taken of the Mediterranean and the West Indies. When I gave the king [William III] an account, he was of my mind, so that the pensionary has promised to use his endeavours with the town of Amsterdam; for they are unwilling to consent to any thing more than Flanders and Milan.

Lady Marlborough to *Godolphin*
(Anne's reign begun)

MARGATE, Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1702.—Since you have been so kind as to write so long a letter for my satisfaction, I hope it will hold out to read my answer, though I know my opinion is very insignificant upon most occasions. In the first place, I will begin without any compliment, and say that if any thing could give me a worse thought of the meetings of those gentlemen (the Tories) than I had before, it would be their desire to turn any man out of an employment to put in my lord Sandwich. This looks to me as if every thing were to be governed by faction and nonsense; and 'tis no matter what look things have in the world, or what men are made use of,

* This letter refers to the negociations conducted at the Hague in the last year of William's reign, which resulted in the Grand Alliance against France; see the Treaty, Section I, pp. 5–9, above. Marlborough represented England at these negociations.

if they are but such creatures as will, right or wrong, be at the disposal of two or three arbitrary men that are at the head of them. How long they will be able to support that way of government I can't tell; but if they are strong enough to go on with it, I am apt to think it will not end in hardships only to the lords lieutenants of England.

Marlborough to *Lady Marlborough*

MAY 15/26, 1702.—It is impossible to express with what a heavy heart I parted with you when I was by the water's side. I could have given my life to have come back, though I knew my own weakness so much that I durst not, for I knew I should have exposed myself to the company. I did for a great while, with a perspective glass, look upon the cliffs, in hopes I might have had one sight of you. We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits, but I do at this minute suffer so much that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour ever to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy; for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and yours happy; and if I could contribute any thing to it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (July 13, 1702)

I AM ashamed to write from this camp, for we ought to have marched from hence three or four days ago; but the fears the Dutch have for Nimeguen and the Rhine created such difficulties when we were to take a resolution, that we were forced to send to the Hague, and the States would not come to any resolution, but have made it more difficult, by leaving it to the general officers, at the same time recommending, in the first place, the safety of the Rhine and Nimeguen. However, we came last night to a resolution of marching to-morrow, and passing the Meuse a little below Grave. Accordingly we have this day made three bridges over the said river. The intention is, that we should keep ourselves masters of those

bridges, and that as soon as the battering pieces can be got to Nimeguen, which we hope may be in eight days, then to pass the Meuse, and march to the siege of Rheinberg. The reason of our passing the Meuse to-morrow is, in hopes it may in some degree alarm the French, and hinder us from eating up that part of the country, which must be our subsistence during the siege. It is hoped this might be a secret, but I am afraid they have too good intelligence, and then they may act so as that we may be obliged to take new measures. If the fear of Nimeguen and the Rhine had not hindered us from marching into Brabant, they must then have had the disadvantage of governing themselves by our motions, whereas we are now obliged to mind them.

I am obliged to you for the compliment you make me for the station I am now in. It would have been a great deal more agreeable to me, if it could have been without disputes, and a little less trouble; but patience will overcome all things.

Marlborough to *Lady Marlborough* (July 17)

We have now very hot weather, which I hope will ripen the fruit at St. Alban's. When you are there, pray think how happy I should be walking alone with you. No ambition can make me amends for being from you. If it were not impertinent, I should desire you in every letter to give my humble duty to the queen, for I do serve her with all my heart and soul. I am on horseback or answering letters all day long; for besides the business of the army, I have letters from the Hague, and all places where her majesty has any ministers. So that if it were not for my zeal for her service, I should certainly desert, for you know of all things I do not love writing.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (July 20)

I am afraid of giving you any trouble, knowing you have but little time to yourself. However, I cannot forbear sending you a copy of a letter I received last night from Gueldermassen, who went to the Hague to hasten every thing for the siege of Rheinberg, which by his letter I am afraid will not be made.

And should we follow what he thinks to be best, I think the French may have it in their power to beat us. But to comply as far as I can, I have this night proposed to them the leaving twenty squadrons of horse, and eighteen battalions of foot, to entrench themselves before Nimeguen, and to pass the Meuse with the rest of the army, or to march with the whole towards Cleves, in order to get between Venloo and the French, if possible, so as to be able to attack them. The fear the States have of Nimeguen and the passage of the Rhine hinders the advantage of having the superiority.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

HELCHTEREN, Aug. 16/27, 1702.—The inclosed letter to the States will let you see the account I have given of the two days being in presence of the enemy. I have but too much reason to complain, that the ten thousand men upon our right did not march as soon as I sent the orders, which if they had, I believe we should have had a very easy victory, for their whole left was in disorder. However, I have thought it much for her majesty's service to take no notice of it, as you see by my letter to the States. But my Lord Rivers, and almost all the general officers of the right were with me when I sent the orders, so that notwithstanding the care I take to hinder it, they do talk. I could not believe the French were so strong as we now know they are; for my lord Carr, one of my aides-de-camp, was taken, so that he marched with them the day they retreated, and the duke of Berwick showed him the whole army. He counted 72 battalions and 109 squadrons, but he says that our battalions are much stronger than theirs.

Venloo will be invested to-morrow, and I have pressed the pensioner that if we have good success there, the States might give such timely order for the stores, that we might have it in our power to attack Ruremond, if the season be favourable.

I am in so ill humour that I will not trouble you, nor dare I trust myself to write more; but believe this truth, that I honour and love you, my lady Marlborough, and my children, and would die for the queen.

Marlborough's letters from the campaign of 1703
(A year of disappointment)

To *Godolphin.* July 19/30, 1703

On Friday, I went with 4000 horse to see the lines. They let us come so near, that we beat their out-guard home to their barrier, which gave us an opportunity of seeing the lines; which had a fosse of twenty-seven feet broad before them, and the water in it nine feet deep; so that it is resolved that the army return to the Meuse, and in the first place take Huy. Upon the whole matter, if we cannot bring the French to a battle we shall not do any thing worth being commended. My letter of the 8th, which began with Sir, and was directed by Cardonnel, was intended for you, but was writ by candle light, as this is; and my eyes are so bad that I do not see what I do, so that I hope you will excuse me, that I do not answer all in your two letters of the 9th and 13th. We shall begin to march from hence on Thursday.

To *Godolphin* (July 26)

I am but too much of your mind, that the going back to the Meuse is, as the French expression is, a *pis aller.* But as Cohorn has managed his business for these last six weeks, we had nothing else to do. I know that Huy will make very little noise in the world: however, if we will make the war in this country, it is very convenient for us to have that place....

Anne to *the Duchess of Marlborough* (1703)

Windsor, Saturday.—The thoughts that both my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman seem to have of retiring give me no small uneasiness, and therefore I must say something on that subject. It is no wonder at all that people in your posts should be weary of the world, who are so continually troubled with all the hurry and impertinences of it; but give me leave to say you should a little consider your faithful friends and poor country, which must be ruined if ever you put your melancholy thoughts in execution. As for your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, she could not bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with

the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone? I never will forsake your dear self, Mr. Freeman, nor Mr. Montgomery*, but always be your constant and faithful friend; and we four must never part till death mows us down with his impartial hand.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

Camp at Hanef, June 3/14.—By my last I had not time to give any answer to your two letters of the 23d and 25th of this last month. There is nothing more certain than what you say, that either of the parties would be tyrants if they were let alone; and I am afraid it is as true that it will be very hard for the queen to prevent it. I think nothing should be omitted to do justice, and then God's will be done. What you say of Lord Nottingham concerning the park is very scandalous, but very natural to that person. I wish with all my heart the queen were rid of him, so that she had a good man in his place, which I am afraid is pretty difficult.

We are bound not to wish for any body's death, but if 14 [Sir Edward Seymour] should die, I am convinced it would be no great loss to the queen nor the nation; and you may be sure the visit intended by 19 [Lord Rochester] and his friend could be for no other end than to flatter 14 [Sir Edward Seymour] to do such mischief as they dare not openly own.

June 10, 1703.—I did yesterday receive yours of the 3d, and do agree with you that the seven persons you mention in that letter do not do the queen that service they ought to do; but I can't but be of the opinion, that if they were out of their places, they would be more capable of doing her hurt. Some of them might, in my opinion, be removed, as 15 [Lord Jersey] and 42 [Lord Nottingham]; but who is there fit for their places? I do protest before God I know of none. I am of your mind, that if the queen spoke to Lord Rochester in the manner you mention in your letter, I believe it would make him very cautious; not that I think it would make him honest, but he would be afraid. The conversation that was between Lord Rochester and the speaker is no doubt the language that

* Godolphin: Freeman=Marlborough: Morley=Anne.

he entertains the whole party with; and if they can once be strong enough to declare which way the war shall be managed, they may ruin England and Holland at their pleasure, and I am afraid may do it in such a manner as may not at first be unpopular; so that the people may be undone before they can see it. I can't say a word for the excusing the Dutch for the backwardness of their sea preparations this year; but if that, or any thing else, should produce a coldness between England and Holland, France would then gain their point, which I hope in God I shall never live to see; for our poor country would then be the miserablest part of all Christendom; for we should not only lose our liberty, but our religion also must be forced, and those gentlemen that would be helping to this, would then be as miserable as others; for the French, when they are the masters, make no distinctions. I could say a great deal upon this subject, but I dare not, for fear of accidents. In short, I think the two parties are so angry, that, to ruin each other, they will make no scruple of venturing the whole.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

ALDERBEESTEN, Sept. 30, 1703.—I see by this last letter, that you have mistaken my meaning in some of my letters; for though I may have complained of some you call your friends, yet it never entered into my thoughts that they should be spoke to in order to have a better thought of me; for I know they would be as unreasonable as the others in their expectations, if I should seek their friendship: *for all parties are alike.* And as I have taken my resolution of never doing any hardship to any man whatsoever, I shall by it have a quiet in my own mind; not valuing nor desiring to be a favourite to either of them. For, in the humour I am now in, and that I hope in God I shall ever be of, I think both parties unreasonable and unjust. I am very sensible of several errors I have committed; but I must not endeavour to mend them by running into greater: so that I shall make complaints to neither, but endeavour to recommend myself to the world by my sincere intentions of governing all my actions by what I shall think is for the interest of my queen and country. I hope in God this will agree with what you desire, and then I can have no uneasiness.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (Winter 1703–4)

I do own a great deal of what you say is right; but I can by no means allow that all the Tory party are for King James, and consequently against the queen, but the contrary; I think it is in her power to make use of almost all, but some of the heads, to the true interests of England, which I take to be the Protestant succession, to the supporting of which, by the help of Almighty God, I will venture my last drop of blood. As you are the only body that could have given me happiness, I am the more concerned we should differ so much in opinion. But as I am firmly resolved never to assist any Jacobite whatsoever, or any Tory that is for persecution, I must be careful not to do the thing in the world which my Lord Rochester would most desire to have me do, which is to give my vote against this bill: but I do most solemnly promise that I will speak to nobody living to be for it; and to show you that I would do any thing that were not a ruin to the queen, and an absolute destruction to myself to make you easy, at this time by what has been told me, the bill [The Occasional Conformity Bill] will certainly be thrown out, unless my lord treasurer and I will both speak to people and speak in the House, which I do assure you for myself I will not do.

Hague, April 24/May 5, 1704.—Your dear letter of the 15th came to me but this minute. My lord treasurer's letter in which it was inclosed, by some mistake was sent to Amsterdam. I would not for any thing in my power it had been lost; for it is so very kind, that I would in return lose a thousand lives if I had them to make you happy. Before I sat down to write this letter, I took yours that you wrote at Harwich out of my strong box and have burnt it; and if you will give me leave it will be a great pleasure to me to have it in my power to read this dear dear letter often, and that it may be found in my strong box when I am dead. I do this minute love you better than ever I did before. This letter of yours has made me so happy, that I do from my soul wish we could retire and not be blamed. What you propose as to coming over, I should be extremely pleased with; for your letter has so transported me, that I think you would be happier in being here than where

you are; although I should not be able to see you often. But you will see by my last letter, as well as this, that what you desire is impossible; for I am going up into Germany, where it would be impossible for you to follow me; but love me as you now do, and no hurt can come to me. You have by this kindness preserved my quiet, and I believe my life; for till I had this letter, I have been very indifferent of what should become of myself. I have pressed this business of carrying an army into Germany, in order to leave a good name behind me, wishing for nothing else but good success. I shall now add, that of having a long life, that I may be happy with you.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

WEINHEIM, May 22/June 2, 1704.—I take it extreme kindly that you persist in desiring to come to me; but I am sure when you consider that three days hence will be a month that the troops have been in a continual march to get hither; and we shall be a fortnight longer before we shall be able to get to the Danube, so that you could hardly get to me and back again to Holland, before it would be time to return into England. Besides, my dear soul, how could I be at any ease? for if we should not have good success, I could not put you into any place where you would be safe.

I am now in a house of the elector palatine, that has a prospect over the finest country that is possible to be seen. I see out of my chamber window the Rhine and the Neckar, and his two principal towns of Manheim and Heidelberg; but would be much better pleased with the prospect of St. Alban's, which is not very famous for seeing far.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

JUNE 4.—The cannon and infantry being six days' march behind me, and the troops of Luneburg, Holland, and Hesse being in several quarters, I shall halt here to-morrow, to give the necessary orders, and then shall advance towards the Danube, with what troops I have here, leaving the English and cannon to be brought up by my brother, and the Danes by the duke of Wirtemberg. I hope in eight days to meet with Prince Louis and Prince Eugene. I am afraid the first will

not go to the Rhine, he being, as I am told, desirous to stay on the Danube. When I see them, you shall be sure to know what we have concerted.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

MAY 28/JUNE 8, 1704.—Having received intelligence yesterday that in three or four days the duke of Villeroy, with his army, would join that of the marshal de Tallard about Landau, in order to force the passage of the Rhine, I prevailed with Count Wratislaw to make all the haste he could to Prince Louis of Baden's army, where he will be this night, that he might make him sensible of the great consequence it is to hinder the French from passing that river, while we are acting against the elector of Bavaria. I have also desired him to press, and not to be refused, that either Prince Louis or Prince Eugene go immediately to the Rhine. I am in hopes to know to-morrow what resolution they have taken. If I could decide it by my wishes, Prince Eugene should stay on the Danube although Prince Louis has assured me, by the count de Frise, that he will not make the least motion with his army but as we shall concert. At this time it is agreed that Prince Louis shall act on the Iller, and I on the Danube. If the marshal de Villeroy can be kept on the other side of the Rhine, we must be contented to suffer him to do what he pleases there, whilst we are acting in Bavaria. If we can hinder the junction of more troops to the elector, I hope six weeks after we begin may be sufficient for the reducing of him, or the entire ruining of his country. It will be the 10th of June our style, before the English foot and cannon can join me on the Danube; and if the cannon, which Prince Louis has promised, can be ready, which I much doubt, I shall in two days after the junction march directly to Donawerth. If I can take that place I shall there settle a magazine for the army, at the same time that the other army is to force their passage over the Iller, which Prince Louis thinks himself sure of, that river having several fords.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

June 4/15, 1704.—Since my last, I have had Prince Louis with me, so that we have taken the necessary measures for our first motions. Prince Eugene was with me from Monday till Friday, and has in his conversation a great deal of my Lord Shrewsbury, with the advantage of seeming franker. He has been very free with me, in giving me the character of the prince of Baden, by which I find I must be much more on my guard than if I was to act with Prince Eugene....

When I had writ thus far, Count Wratislaw came to me, having just received an express from his master. After very great expressions it ended in saying that his master was desirous to write to the queen, that he might have her consent to make me a prince of the empire, which he would do by creating some land he has in the empire into a principality, which would give me the privilege of being in the college, or diet, with the sovereign princes of the empire. You know I am not good at compliments; however, I did assure him that I was very sensible of the honour his master intended me, but in my opinion nothing of this ought to be thought on till we saw what would be the fate of the war. He replied, that what already had been done, had laid obligations on his master above what he could express, and that if the queen would not allow him to do this, he must appear ungrateful to the world, for he had nothing else in his power worth giving, or my taking. What is offered will in history for ever remain an honour to my family. But I wish myself so well that I hope I shall never want the income of the land, which no doubt will be but little, nor enjoy the privilege of German assemblies. However, this is the utmost expression that they can make, and therefore ought to be taken as it is meant.

I know you wish the queen and me so well, that you would be glad that nothing should be done that might do either of us hurt. Therefore my opinion of this matter is, that there can be no inconvenience in allowing Count Wratislaw's master to write to the queen to ask her consent for the doing this, and then to bring the letter to the cabinet council. In the mean time I shall take care with Count Wratislaw, that no further

step be made till I know the queen's pleasure, and the opinion of lord treasurer.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

GIENGEN, June 18/29, 1704.—Since my last, I have had the happiness of receiving yours of the 30th of the last month, and the 1st and 2d of this. It is not only by yours, but by others, that I find that there are several people, who would be glad of my not having success in this undertaking. I am very confident, without flattering myself, that it is the only thing that was capable of saving us from ruin, so that whatever the success may be, I shall have the inward satisfaction to know that I have done all that was in my power, and that none can be angry with me for the undertaking, but such as wish ill to their country and their religion, and with such I am not desirous of their friendship.

The English foot and cannon joined me two days ago, but I do not expect the Danish horse till six or seven days hence, till which time we shall not be able to act against the elector of Bavaria, as I could wish. You will easily believe that I act with all my heart and soul, since good success will in all likelihood give me the happiness of ending my days with you. The queen's allowing you to say something from her is very obliging. I shall endeavour to deserve it; for I serve her with all my heart, and I am very confident she will always have the prayers and good wishes of this country.

You have forgot to order Hodges to send me a draught of a stable, as I directed him, for the lodge; for it ought not to be made use of till the year after it is built; and as I see you set your heart on that place I should be glad all conveniences were about it.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (the burning of Bavaria)

JULY 30.—The succours which the elector expects on Sunday, have given him so much resolution, that he has no thoughts of peace. However, we are in his country, and he will find it difficult to persuade us to quit it. We sent this morning 3000 horse to his chief city of Munich, with orders to burn and destroy all the country about it. This is so contrary to my

nature, that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean, that you would be pleased with them.

(In another letter to *the Duchess* he says)

You will, I hope, believe me, that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the elector will not hinder it. I shall never be easy and happy till I am quiet with you.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (the famous note)

August 13, 1704.—I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.—Marlborough.*

Celebrating the Victory

'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was prov'd,
That in the shock of charging hosts unmov'd,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war:
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid;
Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,

* This note is preserved in the family archives at Blenheim, as one of the most curious memorials which perhaps exists. It was written on a slip of paper, which was evidently torn from a memorandum book, and contains on the back a bill of tavern expenses. The book may probably have belonged to some commissary, as there is an entry relative to bread furnished to the troops. (Note by Coxe.)

Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleas'd the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

ADDISON'S *Campaign*.

From *Hare's Journal* (after Blenheim)

AFTERWARDS the two commanders, accompanied by counts Wratislaw and Maffei, and several general officers, visited Marshal Tallard, at the quarters of the prince of Hesse. In their way, they ordered all the standards, colours, cannon, &c. taken from the enemy to be committed to the care of Colonel Blood. Reaching the marshal's quarters, they found him very much dejected, and wounded in one of his hands. His grace humanely inquired how far it was in his power to make him easy under his misfortune, offering him the convenience of his quarters, and the use of his coach. The marshal thankfully declined the offer, saying, he did not desire to move, till he could have his own equipage. His grace accordingly despatched one of his own trumpets to the electoral army, with a passport for bringing it to the marshal. During the interview the marshal directed the conversation to the events of the preceding day, which Marlborough would fain have avoided from motives of delicacy. He told the duke, that if his grace had deferred his visit, meaning his attack, a day longer, the elector and he would have waited on him first.

The duke asking why they did it not on the 12th, when they were expected, the marshal answered, they would have done it before, had they not been informed that Prince Louis of Baden had joined his grace, with his army from Ingoldstadt; and that four prisoners, whom their squadrons had taken that day from our army, had given the information, and had agreed in their intelligence, though questioned separately* [see p. 121, above].

At this interview many of the French generals crowded about his grace, admiring his person, as well as his tender and generous behaviour. Each had something to say for himself,

* It has been supposed that these four prisoners had instructions to suffer themselves to be taken, in order to make this report. (Coxe.)

which his grace and Prince Eugene heard with the greatest modesty and compassion. Prince Eugene much commended the conduct of the elector of Bavaria, as well as the behaviour of his troops, and frankly told how often and how bravely he had been repulsed by them. When he spoke of his own troops, he said, "I have not a squadron or battalion, which did not charge four times at least."

Marlborough to *Duchess*

August 14.—Before the battle was quite done yesterday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty's arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the Marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8000 men, and near 1500 officers. In short, the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Marsin, which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid, has not had much loss, for I cannot find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that Monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the Marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expense, and I think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this, as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been

done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war.

Steinheim, August 18.—I have been so very much out of order for these four or five days, that I have been obliged this morning to be let blood, which I hope will set me right; for I should be very much troubled not to be able to follow the blow we have given, which appears greater every day than another, for we have now above 11,000 prisoners. I have also this day a deputation from the town of Augsburg, to let me know that the French were marched out of it yesterday morning, by which they have abandoned the country of Bavaria, so that the orders are already given for the putting a garrison into it. If we can be so lucky as to force them from Ulm, where they are now altogether, we shall certainly then drive them to the other side of the Rhine. After which we flatter ourselves that the world will think we have done all that could have been expected from us. This day the whole army has returned their thanks to Almighty God for the late success, and I have done it with all my heart; for never victory was so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we, and very advantageously posted. But believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to make this venture, which God has so blessed. I am told the elector has sent for his wife and children to come to Ulm. If it be true, he will not then quit the French interest, which I had much rather he should do, if it might be upon reasonable terms; but the Imperialists are for his entire ruin. My dearest life, if we could have another such a day as Wednesday last, I should then hope we might have such a peace as that I might enjoy the remaining part of my life with you. The elector has this minute sent a gentleman to me, I think only to amuse us; we shall see the truth in a day or two, for we march to-morrow. The blood they have taken from me has done me a great deal of good, which is very necessary, for I have not time to be sick.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

Sefelingen, Aug. 28.—The troops under my command are advanced three days on their march towards the Rhine, but I have been obliged to stay here to finish, if possible, the treaty with the electress, who has assured me by letter that one of her ministers shall be here this day with full powers. If he comes before I am obliged to seal this letter, you shall have an account of it. By the letters we have intercepted of the enemy's, going to Paris from their camp at Dutlingen, they all own to have lost above 40,000 men. If we have not Ulm by treaty, we shall leave Monsieur Thungen with the troops that should have had the siege of Ingoldstadt. We are endeavouring all we can to get sixty pieces of cannon for the siege of Landau, which place would be of great advantage to our winter quarters. Although we have had a very great loss of officers and soldiers, our army is in so good heart, and so entirely united, that if the enemy gives us an occasion, I do not doubt but God will bless us with a farther success.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

Sefelingen, August 21.—The poor electress has taken five of her children with her, and is following her husband, who seems to be abandoned to the French interest. Prince Eugene and I have offered him by a gentleman that is not yet returned, that if he will join in the common cause against France, he shall be put in possession of his whole country, and receive from the queen and Holland 400,000 crowns yearly, for which he should only furnish the allies with 8000 men; but I take it for granted he is determined to go for France and abandon his own country to the rage of the Germans.

August 25.—The elector of Bavaria has sent his wife and children back to Munich, and this morning by a trumpet has writ to me, and in it a letter to the electress open. It has made my heart ache, being very sensible how cruel it is to be separated from what one loves. I have sent it to her by a trumpet of my own, with assurances that her answer shall be carefully delivered to the elector, for I take pleasure in being easy when the service does not suffer by it.

August 28.—Although the troops be marched I shall stay here a day or two longer, to finish a treaty with the electress of Bavaria, which I own would be a great satisfaction to me; for when the public are served I should be glad the family were not quite ruined.

CELEBRATING THE VICTORY

The *Queen* to *Duchess*

Windsor, August 10/21.—Since I sent my letter away by the messenger, I have had the happiness of receiving my dear Mrs. Freeman's, by Colonel Parke, with the good news of this glorious victory, which, next to God Almighty, is wholly owing to dear Mr. Freeman, on whose safety I congratulate you with all my soul. May the same Providence that has hitherto preserved, still watch over, and send him well home to you. We can never thank God Almighty enough for these great blessings, but must make it our endeavour to deserve them; and I hope he will continue his goodness to us, in delivering us from the attempts of all our other enemies. I have nothing to add at present, but my being sincerely, &c.

Mrs Burnet to *Duchess*

August 12 (O.S.).—Though your grace's moments are so valuable that I should fear to trouble you with my most humble thanks, till you had more leisure to receive such worthless tributes, yet I cannot defer letting your grace know the joy I see in every one I meet. The common people, who I feared were grown stupid, have and do now show greater signs of satisfaction and triumph, than I think I ever saw before on any good success whatever; and after the first tribute of praise to God, the first cause of all that is good, every one studies who shall most exalt the Duke of Marlborough's fame, by admiring the great secrecy, excellent conduct in the design, and wonderful resolution and courage in the execution. The emperor can give no title* half so glorious as such an action. How much blood and treasure has been spent to reduce the

* Alluding to the title of Prince.

exorbitant power of France, and to give a balance to Europe; and when, after so long a struggle, the event remained under great uncertainty, to have the glory to break the chain, give the greatest blow to that tyranny that it ever had, have an emperor to owe his empire to the queen's armies, as conducted by his grace, are splendours that outshine any reward they can receive.

I do not wonder you are all joy. You have just cause for it, and to recount every day with the utmost thankfulness the amazing blessings God has heaped upon you. The bishop heartily prays for the continuance of the duke's success, so that the queen may have the greatest glory that is possible, that is, the restoring peace and liberty, to Europe, and, what is greater, the free profession of the Protestant religion, wherever it has been persecuted or oppressed; and that after her, her ministers, who are the instruments, may share in the lasting blessings and glory due to such benefactors to mankind. Sure no honest man can refuse to unite in such noble designs. I am really giddy with joy, and, if I rave, you must forgive me. I can lament for no private loss, since God has given such a general mercy. In death it would be a matter of joy to me to have lived so long as to hear it.

The bishop said he could not sleep, his heart was so charged with joy. He desires your grace would carefully lay up that little letter*, as a relic that cannot be valued enough. Some wiser people than myself think the nation is in so good a humour with this great success, and the plentiful harvest, that better circumstances can hardly meet for a new parliament; and, with a little care, it may be as good a one as the depraved manners of this nation is capable of. I pray God direct and prosper all her majesty's counsels and resolutions in this, and every thing else, and make her the universal protectress of truth and charity. And may your grace be ever a happy favourite, happy in all your advices and services, and happy in her majesty's kind approbation and esteem; and may every honest heart love you as well, and endeavour to serve you as faithfully, as does your grace's most obedient, &c.

* Private letter from the duke, ante, p. 162.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

Sefelingen, August 25 (N.S.).—Since my last I have received four letters of my dearest soul's, of the 16th, 21st, and 28th, for which I return her a thousand thanks. I find by some of your's that I am very much obliged to 22 [Rochester?], and some of his friends, that take the action of Donawerth [Schellenberg] not to be a victory. I wish that and our last battle could have been obtained without the hazard of any but myself; his lordship then would not have complained; for this last action I will be answerable his friend, the king of France, will own the victory. It is not to be imagined with what precipitation they have quitted this country.

Camp at Gross-Gartach, Sept. 2, 1704.—I must beg, my dearest soul, to make my acknowledgments to the queen for her very obliging letter, believing it much easier than to trouble her with a letter of mine. I hope the elector of Bavaria and the remainder of the French army (who, notwithstanding they were joined by the duke of Villeroy and his army, did not think themselves strong enough to stay for us, but are glad to put the Rhine between us), will be able to convince 17 [Nottingham?] that the French think themselves beaten. I am sure we can never bless God enough for the success he has given us, it being much above our own expectations. But if those sort of gentlemen think there has not been enough done, I hope he will bless us with a farther success, which at last must bring us to happiness in spite of them, which shall be the prayers and endeavours of him that loves you dearly.

...October 20, 1704.—I have just now received your's of the 23d from the Lodge, and am a good deal concerned to find by it that 37* is still of the opinion that 16 and 86 play a game that must be fatal, if the designs of 92 do not prove successful. I was in hopes that 86 had done so much towards

* The ciphers in this and the following letters to the duchess are difficult to explain; and the difficulty is increased by several mistakes in the originals, which were evidently written in haste. It is certain, however, that 17 means the earl of Nottingham. (Coxe's note.)

the hindering 92 succeeding, that his greatest enemies would not deem him so weak and foolish as to think they could ever forgive him. I do assure you as for myself, my pretending to be of no party, is not designed to get favour, or to deceive any body, for I am very little concerned what any party thinks of me; I know them both so well, that if my quiet depended upon either of them I should be most miserable, as I find happiness is not to be had in this world, which I did flatter myself might have been enjoyed in a retired life. *I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory.*

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (about the Nottingham Tory partisans)

Camp near Traerbach, Nov. 3, 1704.—If I do not succeed at Berlin, it will not be necessary for me to stay at either of these courts above two or three days. However, it will make my coming into England very late this year, so that I can't forbear writing to you about 19, for I have it from other letters as well as your's, that he is in measures with 17 [probably Nottingham] and 18, to give all the obstruction that is in their power to the carrying on of the public business with vigour this sessions, on which I think not only the queen's honour, but her safety depends; for France is now in that condition, that if her majesty's arms have good success this next year, she will have it in her power to make such a peace as may make Christendom quiet as long as it may please God to bless us with her life. I do not think that 19 has any personal interest; but should he be left in the employment he is now in, it would be a great encouragement to others to do like him, which might be very prejudicial....

Marlborough to *Duchess* (Oct. 3, 1704)

After I have disposed of every thing for the taking such winter quarters as I wish to have, I shall not stay a day longer with the troops than what is absolutely necessary; for if the service should require my going to Berlin, that will cost me at

least a fortnight. I am very much afraid that my going may do no good; but if I should not go, the emperor and the States may think the eight thousand men might have been had, if I could have taken the pains of going: so that you see if they insist upon it, I must undertake that trouble.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (1704)

HANOVER, Dec. 2.—On my arrival here I found two of your dear letters; and could you know the true satisfaction I have when they are kind, you will ever make me happy. I shall go from hence on Thursday, so that on this day se'nnight I hope to write from the Hague, where I will make as little stay as the business will allow of. I have so much respect shown me here that I have hardly time to write. The king of Prussia did me all the honour he could; and indeed I have met with more kindness and respect everywhere than I could have imagined. But by my letters from England I find that zeal and success is only capable of protecting me from the malice of villanous faction; so that if it were not for the great obligation I owe to the queen, nothing should persuade me evermore to stir out of England. We have the news here that Landau and Traerbach are taken, so that thanks be to God this campaign is ended, to the greatest advantage for the allies that has been for a great while. I long extremely to be with you and the children, so that you may be sure I shall lose no time when the wind is fair.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (1705)

MELDERT, August 3.—I received yours of the 17th yesterday, in which you complain of my having writ a cold letter, which you think may be occasioned by one I had then received from you. It is most certain that upon many occasions I have the spleen, and am weary of my life; for my friends give me much more uneasiness than my enemies, as you may guess by a copy of a letter I have sent to my lord treasurer. But for you, my dearest life, I love you so well, and have placed all my happiness in ending my days with you, that I would venture ten thousand lives to preserve your good opinion. You sometimes use the expression of my Tory friends. As I never will enter

into party and faction, I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe that I will have no friends but such as will support the queen and government. Yours of the 13th, which had the draught of the house and gardens, I received but this day, the French having taken the postilion, but they sent the letters back unopened. I hope some time this summer you will go down to Woodstock for three or four days, and that you will let me know if Mr. Wise be still of the opinion that he shall be able to make all the plantations this next season, which would be a great pleasure to me at my return, if I could see the walks in the park planted.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

(The forcing of the lines of Brabant)

TIRLEMONT, July 7/18, 1705.—My dearest soul, this bearer, Durel, will acquaint you with the blessing God has been pleased to give me; for I have this morning forced the enemy's lines, and beaten a good part of their army, taken their cannon, two lieutenant-generals, and two major-generals, and a great many of their officers, besides standards and colours, of all which I shall have a perfect account to-morrow. It is impossible to say too much good of the troops that were with me, for never men fought better. Having marched all night, and taken a good deal of pains this day, my blood is so hot that I can hardly hold my pen; so that you will, my dearest life, excuse me if I say no more, but that I would not let you know my design of attacking the lines by the last post, fearing it might give you uneasiness; and now, my dearest soul, my heart is so full of joy for this good success, that should I write more I should say a great many follies.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

TIRLEMONT, July 7/18, 1705.—As I had in this action no troops with me but such as I brought from the Moselle, I believe the French will not care to fight with them again. This bearer will tell you that Monsieur Overkirk's army was not in the lines till the whole action was over, and that I was forced to cheat them into this action; for they did not believe I would attack the lines, they being positive that the enemy were

stronger than they were. But this is what must not be spoke of, for it would anger the Dutch, with whom, I think, at this time, I am very well, for their deputies made me the compliment this afternoon, that if I had not been here the lines would not have been forced. I intend to march to-morrow towards Louvain, by which march I shall see what Monsieur de Villeroy will do. This day has given me a great deal of pleasure; however, I think 500 pounds is enough for the bearer.

I beg you will make my compliments to the queen, and assure her that I have infinite pleasure in thinking this action may do good to her service.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (1705)

August 19 (N.S.).—When I had writ this far I took the resolution of not letting the post go, believing I should have engaged the enemy as yesterday, which I certainly had done if it had been in my power. But all the Dutch generals, except M. Overkirk, were against it, so that the deputies would not consent to our engaging, notwithstanding we were in battle, within cannon shot of the enemy; and I do assure you that our army were at least one third stronger than theirs. We are now returning, for we cannot stay longer than the bread we have brought with us will give us leave. It is impossible to make the war with advantage at this rate. I have sent a copy of my letter to the States to lord treasurer. I should have writ in a very angry style, but I was afraid it might have given the French an advantage.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (inter-allied difficulties)

Tirlemont, Aug. 31, 1705.—I have so many things that vex me, that I am afraid the waters, which I think to begin to-morrow, will not do me much good. That I may be the more quiet during the siege of Leuwe, I have taken my quarters in this town, and will trouble myself with business as little as possible. My letters from the Hague tell me that the factious there are divided concerning the last disappointment I had. Those that are for a peace think their generals acted prudently; but the others are angry with them and their deputies, so that it is with them as with us in England, they

judge by parties. I wish the French may make no advantage of these unhappy divisions; for it is most certain that the French are so desirous of a peace, that the Dutch may have whatever they will ask; but should we be so unfortunate as to have a peace concluded as things now are, it is most certain it could not last long, and I fear that at last it would be their ruin. But, if it be possible, they have more faction than we have, by which we may fear every thing.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

August 31, 1705.—You do in yours complain of some things at home; but if you could know all I suffer here abroad, you would agree with me in begging of the queen that I might never more go out of England; for in Holland they have not only taken care that my letter should not be printed, but there is another printed, and my name put to it, of which there is not one word of it mine. I have complained to the pensioner of this, and should have done it to the States, but then it must have been public, which might have caused some disorders among the people there, for they are of my side against their generals. By this you may see how difficult a part I have to act, being obliged to take care that neither the French nor Dutch common people know how I am used; for it is most certain I have not the tenth part of the authority I had last year; and it is as certain that if I had the power of fighting, with the blessing of God, the French must have been beaten. By all this, you will easily believe me that I shall make it my endeavour to be in England early. But if any misfortune should happen to the army after I were gone, I should never forgive myself; for though I am used ill, the public must not suffer; and should I think of putting this army into winter quarters before the end of October, it would give an opportunity to the French of sending troops to Germany; but be assured my heart is with you. My vexing has put me so much out of order, that I am obliged to take a vomit this night, and to-morrow I shall begin the Spa waters, and shall drink them during the time we shall stay in this camp.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

Tirlemont, Sept. 2, 1705.—I received last night yours of the 17th and 18th, o.s., of the last month. It is impossible for me to express the trouble the last disappointment has given. However, I must be careful not to speak all the truth, for fear of offending the Dutch, which would give a great advantage to the common enemy.

It is a pleasure to me when I find by yours that you are easier with 79 [the queen]. I think, for the good of every thing, you should make it your business to have it so; for I am very confident by 72 [Lord Godolphin's] letters, it would be of great use to him. I wish 79 [the queen] and 72 [Lord Godolphin] all the happiness imaginable. But really my spirit is so broke, that whenever I can get from this employment I must live quietly or die.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (1705)
(The Dutch make amends)

Tirlemont, Sept. 14.—. . . I will send you a copy of the States' letter by the next post. They have writ one to their deputies and generals, in which they have expressed themselves so that their generals are not pleased, for they would now have their army fight. I am afraid there will not be an opportunity for it; but should an occasion offer, I do verily believe every body would consent to it, now that we have the happiness of not having Slangenberg, he being gone to Maestricht; and I do, with all my heart, pray to God that I may never be in an army with him. The waters have made my head ache so, that I can write no more, and after to-morrow I intend to leave them off, though I had resolved to have drunk them all this week. Tirlemont, Sept. 17.—I send you a copy of the letter I have received from the States, by which you will see they are desirous we should venture; and I do verily believe, if an occasion should offer, all their generals would readily consent, now that M. Slangenberg is gone. It would have been happy for the common cause had he been sick two months ago.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

AERCHOT, Sept. 24, 1705.—. . . Pensioner Buys has confirmed me in my opinion, that the constitution of the States is such that they cannot take away the power the deputies have had at all times in the army; for in the king's time they had the same authority, but he took care to choose such men as always agreed to whatever he had a mind to. Now this may, if they please, be put in practice. I have also underhand assurances that they will never employ Slangenberg in the army where I may be. By the whole I find they would be very glad to content me, but I am afraid would be glad also to have it in their power to hinder a battle, for they do seem to apprehend very much the consequences of such a venture.

Lord Peterborough to his *Lady*

(Taking of Barcelona)

OCTOBER 6, 1705.—I can now give you joy upon taking Barcelona, which is effected. I can modestly say such an attempt was never made by such a handful of men. We have taken, in three days, the castle of Montjuich, sword in hand, that resisted 30,000 men three months. There were five hundred men in it. We marched with a thousand men thirteen hours, and with scaling ladders took a place upon a rock, much stronger than Portsmouth, and had but eight hundred men, two [hundred] having lost us in the night. This enterprise, which some people would reckon impossible or rash, will save many thousand lives. I was forced to lead them on with the Prince of Hesse, who was killed; I escaped without hurt, though both my aide-de-camps were much wounded. I would rather you should hear of this earlier from others than myself.

Lord Peterborough to the *Duchess of Marlborough*

OCTOBER 29, 1705.—If some few I esteem and respect are as much pleased as our enemies are surprised and made uneasy, I would desire no more. I know the good nature of England, especially towards the month of November; but I hope at least they will find no fault.

The ceremony is now over, and we have two kings acknowledged in Spain. Give me leave to say, if I had now two

hundred thousand pounds I would be answerable for our being, madam, possessed, in a month's time, of the better part of all Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon; but our coarse English proverb is too true—"there is no making brick without straw."

Had it not been for the impatience I am under to justify to the world the countenance and good opinion you were pleased to honour me with, I never durst have entered into those measures which brought the king hither. But knowing the ill state of things in Portugal, and the prospect not answering elsewhere, I thought a retrieve was necessary for resolutions out of the common road. I have met with great difficulties, but expect greater. This letter goes by Italy, only to assure your grace of my eternal gratitude and respect, and to recommend the whole to your care and protection. I lay this enterprise at your door, my lady duchess: if we are sustained in time, and as we ought, I hope you will not be ashamed to own it. But, madam, we are far off (though I hope not forgotten). I can now assure your grace I am of the side of the church: no doubt Sir Edward Seymour will make haste to help me, and I think we have met with miracles in our favour. But we are poorer than church rats; and miracles cannot save us long, without money, and a quick and vigorous assistance.

Marlborough to *Duchess* (Ramillies)

1706, May 24th, 11 o'clock.—I did not tell my dearest soul in my last the design I had of engaging the enemy if possible to a battle, fearing the concern she has for me, might make her uneasy; but I can now give her the satisfaction of letting her know, that on Sunday last we fought, and that God Almighty has been pleased to give us a victory. I must leave the particulars to this bearer, Colonel Richards, for having been on horseback all Sunday, and after the battle marching all night, my head aches to that degree, that it is very uneasy to me to write. Poor B[r]ingfield, holding my stirrup for me, and helping me on horseback, was killed*. I am told that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor condition. I can't write to any of my children, so that you will let them know I am

* There is a monument to Col. Bringfield in Westminster Abbey, north aisle.

well, and that I desire they will thank God for preserving me. And pray give my duty to the queen, and let her know the truth of my heart, that the greatest pleasure I have in this success is, that it may be a great service to her affairs; for I am sincerely sensible of all her goodness to me and mine. Pray believe me when I assure you that I love you more than I can express.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

Monday, May 24 (N.S.).—I believe my last might give you expectation of an action. We have been in perpetual motion ever since; and on Sunday last we came in presence with the enemy, who came with the same intentions I had, of fighting. We began to make our lines of battle about eleven o'clock, but we had not all our troops till two in the afternoon, at which time I gave orders for attacking them. The first half hour was very doubtful, but I thank God after that we had success in our attacks, which were on a village in the centre; and on the left we pursued them three leagues, and the night obliged us to give it over. Having been all Sunday, as well as last night, on horseback, my head aches to that degree that I must refer you to the bearer. I shall only add, that we beat them into so great a consternation, that they abandoned all their cannon; their baggage they had sent away in the morning, being resolved to fight. They had 128 squadrons, and 74 battalions. We had 123 squadrons, and 73 battalions; so that you see the armies were near of a strength; but the general officers which are taken, tell us that they thought themselves sure of victory, by having all the king of France's household, and with them the best troops of France. You will easily believe this victory has lost us a good many men and officers; but I thank God we have but three English regiments that have much suffered; the Dutch horse and foot have suffered more than we. I am going to get a little rest, for if our bread comes by six this evening, I will then march to Louvain this night, in hopes to find them in such disorder, as that we may be encouraged to attack them behind their lines, for they can have no cannon but what they can take out of Louvain. I beg you will assure the queen, that I act with all my heart, and you know how necessary it is for her affairs that we should have good success.

Poor B[r]ingfield is killed, and I am told he leaves his wife and mother in a bad condition.

From *Mr. St. John* to *Marlborough*

May 17/28, 1706.—My lord, every man that wishes well to the common good of Europe must be transported with the glorious action of Sunday last; but those who are particularly devoted to the service may pretend to a greater degree of joy. The vast addition of renown which your grace has acquired, and the wonderful preservation of your life, are subjects upon which I can never express the thousandth part of what I feel. France and faction are the only enemies England has reason to fear, and your grace will conquer both; at least while you beat the French, you give a strength to the government which the other dares not contend with.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (1706)

(Following up Ramillies)

Brussels, May 16/27.—Since my last we have not only passed the Dyle, but are masters of Louvain, Mallines, and Brussels; you will see, by what I send to Mr. Secretary Harley, what has passed between me and the states of Brabant, which I found assembled at Brussels. As there could not be time for orders from England, I hope her majesty will approve of what I have done. It is not to be expressed the great success it has pleased God to give us, by putting a consternation in the enemy's army; for they had not only a greater number than we, but all the best troops of France. The consequence of this battle is likely to be of greater advantage than that of Blenheim; for we have now the whole summer before us, and with the *blessing of God*, I will make the best use of it. For as we had no council of war before this battle, so I hope to have none this whole campaign; and I think we may make such a campaign as may give the queen the glory of making an honourable and safe peace; for the *blessing of God* is certainly with us.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

Brussels, May 16/27.—I have been in so continued a hurry ever since the battle of Ramilies, by which my blood is so

heated, that when I go to bed I sleep so unquietly that I cannot get rid of my head-ache, so that I have not as yet all the pleasure I shall enjoy, of the blessing God has been pleased to give us by this great victory. My lord treasurer will let you see what I send by this express to Mr. Secretary Harley, by which you will see that we have done in four days, what we should have thought ourselves happy if we could have been sure of it in four years. I bless God that he has been pleased to make me the instrument of doing so much service to the queen, England, and all Europe, for it is most certain that we have destroyed the greatest part of the best troops of France. My dearest soul, I have now that great pleasure of thinking that I may have the happiness of ending my days in quiet with you.

I have appointed next Sunday for the army to return thanks to God, for the protection he has been pleased to give us. For on this occasion it has been very visible, for the French had not only greater numbers than we, but also all their best troops. I hope the queen will appoint a speedy thanksgiving day at St. Paul's, for the goodness of God is so very great, that if he had suffered us to have been beaten, the liberties of all the allies had been lost. The consequences of this battle are likely to be greater than that of Blenheim, for I have now the whole summer before me. Pray make my excuse to Lord Sunderland that I am not able to write, but he may, if he pleases, see what I write to lord treasurer. My dearest life, I am ever yours.

Brussels has submitted to King Charles the Third, and I am promised that in eight days the states of Brabant will also proclaim him.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

Merlebeck, near Ghent, May 20/31.—We did this day design the passing the Scheldt at Gavre, by which we should have cut the French army from their old lines; but they rather chose to abandon Ghent, which they did this morning at break of day, so that I have camped the left of the army at Gavre, and the right at this place. I shall send to-morrow a detachment to Bruges, they having also abandoned that town. As soon as we can have the cannon, and what is necessary, we shall attack Antwerp; after which I should be glad the next place

might be Ostend; for unless they draw the greatest part of their army from Germany, they will not be able to hinder us from doing what we please on this side their lines. I tell you my thoughts, but if you think there is any thing better for the queen's interest, I shall endeavour to do it, having that more at heart than my own life.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

MERLEBECK, NEAR GHENT, May 20/31.—We are now masters of Ghent, and to-morrow I shall send some troops to Bruges. So many towns have submitted since the battle, that it really looks more like a dream than truth. My thoughts are now turning to the getting every thing ready for the siege of Antwerp, which place alone, in former years, would have been thought good success for a whole campaign; but we have the blessing of God with us, and I hope we shall do more in this campaign than was done in the last ten years' war in this country, which is a great pleasure, since it is the likeliest way to bring me to my happiness of ending my days quietly.

MERLEBECK, June 3.—Every day gives us fresh marks of the great victory; for since my last, which was but two days ago, we have taken possession of Bruges and Damme, as also Oudenard, which was besieged the last war by the king with sixty thousand men, and he was at last forced to raise the siege. In short, there is so great a panic in the French army as is not to be expressed. Every place we take declares for King Charles. To-morrow the Marshal de Marsin joins their army with 18 battalions of foot and 14 squadrons, which will be very little assistance to them; so that if they will oppose us they must draw more troops from their other armies.

You are very kind in desiring I would not expose myself. Be assured I love you so well, and am so desirous of ending my days quietly with you, that I shall not venture myself but when it is absolutely necessary; and I am sure you are so kind to me, and wish so well to the common cause, that you had rather see me dead than not to do my duty. I am so persuaded that this campaign will bring us a good peace, that I beg of you to do all you can that the house at Woodstock may be carried up as much as possible, that I may have a prospect of living in it.

I do not trouble the queen with thanking her for her obliging letter, but beg you will, with the most dutiful expressions, do it, as also for the letter she writ to lord treasurer before the battle, which I will endeavour to deserve by venturing at all times my life with pleasure for her service.

Make my excuse to Lord Sunderland, and that I desire he would do it to the rest of our friends that I have not time by this post to thank them for their obliging letters.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (1706)*

ROUSSELAER, July 1.—M. Hope is come this day from Brussels, and I have communicated to him the emperor's letter, and the powers from the king of Spain. He made me great compliments, but I find by him that he thinks this may give uneasiness in Holland by thinking that the court of Vienna has a mind to put the power of this country into the queen's hands, in order that they may have nothing to do with it. If I should find the same thing by the pensioner, and that nothing can cure this jealousy but my desiring to be excused from accepting this commission, I hope the queen will allow of it; for the advantage and honour I might have by this commission is very insignificant, in comparison of the fatal consequences that might be, if it should cause a jealousy between the two nations.

Marlborough to *Heinsius*
(Grand Pensionary of Holland)

ROUSSELAER, July 3.—Sir, by yours of the 30th of the last month, which I received last night, I find you had not received mine, in which I sent you the copies of what I had received from Vienna, but that the Count de Goes had acquainted you with his despatch. I write this to beg of you to do me the justice to be firmly persuaded that I shall take no step in this matter, but what shall be by the advice of the

* The following letters refer to important transactions between the allies. The Emperor and the King of Spain (Charles III) pressed Marlborough to take the governorship of the Netherlands which he had just reconquered for them at Ramillies. But Marlborough refused the glittering offer because of the grave jealousy it would have given to the Dutch.

States; for I prefer infinitely their friendship before any particular interest to myself; for I thank God and the queen I have no need nor desire of being richer, but have a very great ambition of doing every thing that can be for the public good; and as for the frontier, which is absolutely necessary for your security, you know my opinion of it. In short, I beg you to assure yourself, and every body else, that I shall with pleasure behave myself in this matter, and all things else, that you may think for the good of the republic, as you would have me; for next to serving the queen and my country, I have nothing more at heart, than to have your good opinions. And let me, on this occasion, assure the States, that I serve them with the same affection and zeal that I do my own country, so that they need be under no difficulty; for if they think it for their service, I shall with pleasure excuse myself from accepting this commission.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

HARLEBECK, July 6.—...The enclosed letter of the same date confirms me, that if I should accept of the honour the emperor and the king of Spain do me, it would create a great jealousy, which might prejudice the common cause, so that I hope her majesty will approve of what I have done. And I beg you to be so just and kind to me as to assure the queen, that though the appointments of this government are threescore thousand pounds a year, I shall with pleasure excuse myself, since I am convinced it is for her service, unless the States should make it their request, which they are very far from doing; for they have told me that they think it not reasonable that the king of Spain should have possession of the Low Countries till they had assurances of what barrier they should have for their security. I hope this compliance of mine will give me so much credit as to be able to hinder them from hurting themselves; for it is certain, if they follow their own inclinations, they will make such demands upon this country, as will very much dissatisfy the house of Austria, and be thought unreasonable by all the allies, of which the French would be sure to make their advantage.

Marlborough to *Heinsius*

CAMP OF HARLEBECK, July 10, 1706.—Sir, I have learnt by the honour of your letter of the 3d instant, that M. Hope was to come to me on the part of the States-general, as in fact he came, Thursday night; and he has probably written to their high mightinesses, that, with the permission of the queen, I was firmly resolved not to charge myself in any manner with the commission with which his Catholic majesty has been pleased to honour me. This you will have the goodness to confirm to them on my part. This new instance ought to convince their high mightinesses how much I have their interest and particular satisfaction at heart, as well as that of the common cause.

On this occasion I take the liberty of reminding their high mightinesses that when the army came to Louvain, and in the farther progress which we have made with the advice of the army deputies, we jointly gave assurances, in writing, to all the towns and people of the country, in the name of the queen, of their high mightinesses, and of his Catholic majesty, that those who should submit to their legitimate sovereign should regain the same rights, privileges, and advantages which they enjoyed in the time of King Charles II.; and to these assurances, with the help of God, I am persuaded we must partly attribute the facility with which we entered into possession of so many strong places, where every one testified universal joy.

However, by the resolution of the States of the 19th of last month, which M. Hope sent me, translated into French, it seems as if their high mightinesses are of opinion that their deputies should sign alone the authorisation for the council of state, the chambers of finance, and other judicatures, who ought not to conclude any thing without having previously consulted, and with the approbation of the said deputies to the exclusion even of the queen.

However, according to what I have learnt, or have been able to comprehend hitherto, it has always appeared that the States had nothing else in view but a good barrier and a reasonable security for their country. I beg, then, you will,

with all submission to their high mightinesses, entreat them to reflect maturely on such a step, which is perhaps the true means of attaining those objects. I am persuaded that when the States shall come to deliberate thereon with their usual prudence and wisdom, their high mightinesses will find many reasons beyond what I can suggest to them to bring them to take those measures in this government which may be most useful to the country.

I am more than gratified personally with the friendship and kindness their high mightinesses have at all times shown me, and this obliges me to give them my thoughts without disguise in every thing which I think concerns their interests. I persuade myself also, that they do me the justice to believe that I wish them as much happiness and prosperity as they can themselves desire; and I shall continue always to entertain the same sentiments of respect towards them.

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

Harlebeck, July 14.—You will see by three or four letters that I have lately writ to you the care I have taken not to give any occasion of jealousy in Holland, and that I was in hopes that my declining the honour the king of Spain had done me would give me so much power with the States as that I might be able to hinder them from doing themselves and the common cause hurt. But such is their temper, that when they have misfortunes they are desirous of peace upon any terms, and when we are blessed by God with success, they are for turning it to their own advantage, without any consideration how it may be liked by their friends and allies. You will see, by the enclosed copy of a letter I have this day writ to the pensioner [Heinsius], that if they cannot be brought to change their resolution of the 19th of the last month, they will create so great a jealousy in this country, that they shall be under the absolute government of the Dutch, that it would turn very much to the advantage of the French. Besides that, the king of Spain will have just reason to complain. M. Hope tells me the States have directed M. Vryberg to acquaint her majesty, and her ministers, with their reasons and proceedings. In my poor opinion, her majesty cannot give too kind an answer;

but she must be careful that the king of Spain and the house of Austria have no reason given them to be angry.

Now the States have applied to her majesty, I cannot act with safety, but by her majesty's directions by one of the secretaries of state. I must beg of her majesty, for her own service and the public good, that she will be pleased to allow of my declining the honour of the king of Spain's commission; otherwise the party in Holland that are for peace, rather upon ill terms than good, would make a very ill use of it, though, in my opinion, the States might have avoided many inconveniences and irregularities, that must now happen, if they had approved of my acting; for I should have done nothing but what must have turned to their safety. And at the same time they might have treated with the king of Spain concerning their barrier; but by this step of theirs, they will very quickly be obliged to declare not only to the queen, but to every body else, that till they have their *surety*, as they call it, by having such a barrier as they shall think reasonable*. I dread the consequences of this matter, for I cannot write so freely to the States as I should otherwise if I were not personally concerned. You may be sure the French have too many partisans in Holland not to be informed of this proceeding, so that they will be sure to make their advantage of it.

Prince Eugene to *Marlborough*
(Battle of Turin, 1706)

Your highness will not, I am sure, be displeased to hear by the Baron de Hondorff of the signal advantage which the arms of his imperial majesty and his allies have gained over the enemy. You have had so great a share in it by the succours you have procured, that you must permit me to thank you again. Marshal Marsin is taken prisoner and mortally wounded. The troops have greatly signalised themselves. In a few days I will send you a correct account; and in the mean time refer you to that which you will hear from the bearer of this letter, who is well-informed, has seen every thing, and is competent to

* Some words omitted in the original.

give an accurate relation. Your highness will excuse the shortness of this letter, as I have not a moment of time*.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

SEPTEMBER 26.—I have now received the confirmation of the success in Italy from the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene; and it is impossible for me to express the joy it has given me, for I do not only esteem, but I really love that prince. This glorious action must bring France so low, that if our friends can be persuaded to carry on the war one year longer with vigour, we could not fail, with the blessing of God, to have such a peace as would give us quiet in our days; but the Dutch are at this time unaccountable.

From *Godolphin* to *Marlborough*
(Allied quarrels in Spain 1706)

JUNE 11/22.—I have had other notices agreeing with Count Wratislaw's letter, which you sent me concerning Lord Peterborough; but I reckon they come all from the complaints of the prince of Lichtenstein. And though I can easily believe occasion enough may have been given for them, yet I certainly know, by several letters from Mr. Crowe and others, that the conduct of him who complains has been worthless and contemptible to the last degree. Count Noyelle's letter is very modest, and does not pretend to decide between the two noblemen.

WINDSOR, July 18.—...The same packet brought me a letter from my Lord Peterborough of a very old date, from Barcelona. It is full of extraordinary flights and artificial turns. But one may see by it that there is room for every thing that has been thought or said of his conduct there; and, at the same time, by that and other letters of more credit, nothing ever was so weak, so shameful, and so unaccountable, in every point, as the conduct of the prince de Lichtenstein, and the rest of the king of Spain's German followers....

* Eugene modestly omits to allege, in excuse for the abruptness of this letter, the pain of a dangerous wound in the head, which he received during the attack of the lines. (Coxe.)

Marlborough to *Godolphin*

HELCHIN, Aug. 16.—I agree with you that the Germans that are with King Charles are good for nothing; but I believe the anger and aversion he has for Lord Peterborough is the greatest cause of taking the resolution of going to Saragosa, which I am afraid will prove fatal; for Mr. Crowe told me, that he once said to him, that he would never have any thing to do with Lord Peterborough—that he would not accept of health from him: I suppose this expression is better in Spanish than English....

From *Godolphin* to *Marlborough*

ST. JAMES'S, Aug. 13/24.—Lord Peterborough has written a volume to Mr. Secretary Hedges. It is a sort of remonstrance against the king of Spain and his ministers, in the first place; and, secondly, a complaint against all the orders and directions sent from hence, and as if he had not authority enough given him, either at sea or land. In a word, he is both useless and grievous there, and is preparing to be as troublesome here, whenever he is called home.

WINDSOR, Aug. 15/26.—Mr. Secretary Hedges tells me he is causing Lord Peterborough's long letter to be copied, that he might send it to you. It is a sort of two-edged sword; first, a remonstrance against King Charles, in terms as unmanly as unjust; and, secondly, it is prepared to fall on any body here that shall be in his displeasure.

WINDSOR, Sept. 2/13.—I trouble you with a long letter from the king of Spain. In my answer to it I have not been able to forbear complaining of his inexcusable delays, in not advancing sooner towards Madrid; though I can agree with you that Lord Peterborough's humour may have given a handle to his ministers to prevail with him against his own interest, from a hope they had of squeezing the people of Aragon, as they had before done those of Catalonia. But they have missed their aim in it, as I find by Colonel Stanhope's letter, which I send you; and in a word, Lord Peterborough's extravagances could not have hurt us, if those Germans had not outdone him, both in folly and every thing that is worse.

Peterborough to *Duchess of Marlborough* (Sept. 4, 1706)

...You were pleased, madam, to allow me to be fortunate, till I had nothing to wish. Remember, my lady duchess, one of my first wishes is, that I may never lose your good opinion and favour, and yet I am content to suffer the punishment, whenever I deserve it, by failing in my duty to my queen or country, or my private respects due to my lord duke or yourself, for your public merits, and particular favours to me and my family.

The most disagreeable country in the world is Spain; the most pleasing England; our German ministry and Spanish statesmen much alike; their officers the greatest robbers, and their soldiers the greatest cowards; the only tolerable thing your sex, and that attended with the greatest dangers. Judge, then, madam, of my joy and disappointment, when I soon expected the honour of seeing your grace, after a war ended in a year, and a treaty finished in two months....

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (July, 1706)

...I don't think the Dutch are very reasonable, to be so much in pain about their barrier, as things stand; but it is a plain argument to me, they think of joining their interest to that of France, whenever a peace comes; and for that very reason the longer we can keep it off the better.

Helchin, Aug. 23.—I send you inclosed a letter from the pensionary and my answer. I do not doubt Mr. Secretary Harley or yourself will hear from M. Buys, as the French are making applications, I believe, at Vienna, as well as at the Hague. You must be careful what answer you make, for be assured they will not continue the war much longer; and I am afraid, in a very little time, we shall find that the court of Vienna and the Dutch are more desirous of quarrelling with each other than with France.

Marlborough to the *Pensionary* (Heinsius)

HELCHIN, Aug. 21.—I have had the favour of yours of the 13th, and shall obey your commands as far as I dare; for, as a good Englishman, I must be of the opinion of my country, *that both by treaty and interest we are obliged to preserve the monarchy of Spain entire.* At the same time, as a friend, I must acknowledge that I believe France can hardly be brought to a peace, unless something be given to the duke of Anjou, so that he may preserve the title of king. I think that of Milan is unreasonable, since it would make France master of the duke of Savoy and all Italy. As to what they pretend on the Rhine, I can't think they would insist on that. The explication of the queen's title is certainly very impertinent; for the last peace, in which they take no notice of the successor, was contrary to custom and the laws of the land. You see that in few words I let you know my thoughts. But I durst not advise what answer you should give; but I should think it were very natural for M. Buys to give an account of this proposal to Mr. Secretary Harley and lord treasurer, who will acquaint her majesty; by which means you will have the opinion of the queen.

The *Queen* to *Godolphin* (1706)*

AUGUST 30/SEPT. 10.—I think one should always speak one's mind freely to one's friends on every occasion, but sometimes one is apt to hope things may not come to that extremity, as to make it necessary to trouble them, and therefore it is very natural to defer doing so as long as one possibly can. The difficulties I labour under at this time are so great, and so uneasy to me, that they will not suffer me any longer to keep my thoughts to myself; and I choose this way of explaining them to you, rather than endeavour to begin to speak, and not be able to go on. I have been considering the business we have so often spoke about, ever since I saw you, and cannot but continue of the same mind, that it is a great hardship to per-

* This group of letters refers to the great move of the Whig junto to compel Godolphin and Marlborough to force the unwilling Queen to accept the services of Sunderland and so give the Ministry a distinctively Whig complexion. Sunderland was Marlborough's son-in-law.

suade any body to part with a place they are in possession of, in hopes of another that is not yet vacant. Besides, I must own freely to you, I am of the opinion, that making a party man secretary of state, when there are so many of their friends in employment of all kinds already, is throwing myself into the hands of a party, which is a thing I have been desirous to avoid. May be some may think I would be willing to be in the hands of the Tories; but whatever people may say of me, I do assure you I am not inclined, nor ever will be, to employ any of those violent persons, that have behaved themselves so ill towards me. All I desire is, my liberty in encouraging and employing all those that concur faithfully in my service, whether they are called Whigs or Tories, not to be tied to one, nor the other; for if I should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of either, I shall not imagine myself, though I have the name of queen, to be in reality but their slave, which as it will be my personal ruin, so it will be the destroying all government; for instead of putting an end to faction, it will lay a lasting foundation for it. You press the bringing Lord Sunderland into business, that there may be one of that party in a place of trust, to help carry on the business this winter; and you think if this is not complied with, they will not be hearty in pursuing my service in the parliament. But is it not very hard that men of sense and honour will not promote the good of their country, because every thing in the world is not done that they desire! when they may be assured Lord Sunderland shall come into employment as soon as it is possible. Why, for God's sake, must I, who have no interest, no end, no thought, but for the good of my country, be made so miserable, as to be brought into the power of one set of men? and why may not I be trusted, since I mean nothing but what is equally for the good of all my subjects? There is another apprehension I have of Lord Sunderland being secretary, which I think is a natural one, which proceeds from what I have heard of his temper. I am afraid he and I should not agree long together, finding by experience my humour and those that are of a warmer will often have misunderstandings between one another. I could say a great deal more on this subject, but fear I have been too tedious already. Therefore

I shall conclude, begging you to consider how to bring me out of my difficulties, and never leave my service, for Jesus Christ's sake; for besides the reasons I give you in another letter, this is a blow I cannot bear.

Godolphin to the *Queen*

SATURDAY MORNING, AT NINE.—I come this moment from opening and reading the letter which your majesty gave yourself the trouble to write to me last night. It gives me all the grief and despair imaginable, to find that your majesty shows inclination to have me continue in your service, and yet will make it impossible for me to do so. I shall not therefore trouble your majesty with fruitless repetitions of reasons and arguments. I cannot struggle against the difficulties of your majesty's business, and yourself at the same time; but I can keep my word to your majesty.

I have no house in the world to go to but my house at Newmarket, which I must own is not at this time like to be a place of much retirement; but I have no other. I have worn out my health, and almost my life, in the service of the crown. I have served your majesty faithfully to the best of my understanding, without any advantage to myself, except the honour of doing so, or without expecting any other favour than to end the small remainder of my days in liberty and quiet.

Sunderland to *the Duchess of Marlborough* (1706)

LONDON, Sept. 17/28.—Lord Halifax and I reckoned to have set out to-morrow for Woodstock, and it is with a great deal of regret that we are obliged to put off our journey thither; but when you know the reason of it, I dare say you won't think us in the wrong. When I writ to you last, I gave you some account of a conversation Lord Halifax and the lord treasurer had together; but since that, Lord Halifax has told Lord Somers and me several particulars of that conversation, and among other things, of the great offers of any place, or any other advantage whatever that the lord treasurer was pleased to make to me, in lieu of the thing in question. I can't but think, and we are all of the same mind, that for me to hearken to any such offer, would be in effect to be both fool and knave.

Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, and I, have talked very fully over all this matter, and we are come to our last resolution in it, that this and what other things have been promised must be done, or we and the lord treasurer must have nothing more to do together about business; and that we must let all our friends know just how the matter stands between us and the lord treasurer, whatever is the consequence of it. If the lord treasurer comes to town, either to-night or to-morrow, both Lord Somers and Lord Halifax will let him know this resolution in the plainest words, and in the fullest manner they can. If he does not come, Lord Halifax will go to Windsor to him, and let him know it in Lord Somers's name, as well as his own, so that a few days will determine whether it is to be a breach or not. But whether it is or not, you must be assured that every honest Englishman will acknowledge, that whatever good has been done is entirely owing to you; and that whatever is not done is for want of your power to do it.

There is another reason which makes Lord Halifax not think it so proper for us to go to Woodstock whilst this matter is in suspense, and Lord Somers is of the same mind; that is, that since it is plain that you are very ill with the queen, purely for acting and speaking honestly and sincerely your mind, nobody knows how far some people might make the queen believe that we were gone only to influence and engage you to be more and more uneasy to her. I beg you would let us know whether we are right in this thought or no; for nothing can be a greater mortification than to be prevented of the pleasure of waiting upon you.

Marlborough to *Duchess*

What you write me concerning the queen and the lord treasurer gives me a great deal of trouble; for should the consequence be what you say, that there is no relying upon the Tories, and that the Whigs will be out of humour, it must end in confusion, which will have the consequence of the Dutch making peace with France. I am afraid this is what will gratify many of the Tory party; but I can see no advantage that can come to the Whigs by the ruin of the lord treasurer; so that I hope they are too wise a people to expose themselves

and the liberties of Europe, because some things are not done with a good grace. I would not have you mistake me; for as far as it is in my power, for the sake of my country and the queen, for whom, had I a thousand lives, I would venture them all, I would have every thing that is reasonable done to satisfy the Whigs, of which I think the lord treasurer is the best judge. If it were not for my duty to the queen and friendship to lord treasurer, I should beg that somebody else might execute my office. Not that I take any thing ill, but that the weight is too great for me, and I find a decay in my memory. Whatever may be told to you of my looks, the greatest part of my hair is grey, but I think I am not quite so lean as I was.

The *Duchess* to the *Queen* (1706)

I CONCLUDE your majesty will believe my arguments upon this subject proceed chiefly from the partiality which I have for my lord Sunderland, though I solemnly protest that I never had any for any person to the prejudice of what I believed your interest. And I had rather he had any other place, or none at all, if the party that most assist you would be satisfied without it; for, besides the very great trouble of that office*, executed as it should be, he is not of a humour to get any thing by such an employment; and I wish from my soul that any other man had been proposed to you, that you could not have suspected I had any concern for. But 'tis certain that your government can't be carried on with a part of the Tories, and the *Whigs disobliged, who, when that happens, will join with any people to torment you and those that are your true servants.* I am sure it is my interest, as well as inclination, to have you succeed by any sort of men in what is just, and that will prevent what has been done from being thrown away. Your security and the nation's is my chief wish, and I beg of God Almighty, as sincerely as I shall do for His pardon at my last hour, that Mr. and Mrs. Morley may see their errors as to this *notion* before it is too late; but considering how little im-

* Secretary of State, Southern Department, the office claimed for Sunderland by the Whig Junto (p. 250, below).

pression any thing makes that comes from your faithful Freeman, I have troubled you too much, and I beg your pardon for it.

The *Duchess* to the *Queen* (1706)

August 30.—Your majesty's great indifference and contempt in taking no notice of my last letter, did not so much surprise me, as to hear my lord treasurer say you had complained much of it, which makes me presume to give you this trouble to repeat what I can be very positive was the whole aim of the letter, and I believe very near the words. It was in the first place, to show the reason why I had not waited upon your majesty, believing you were uneasy, and fearing you might think I had some private concern for Lord Sunderland. I therefore thought it necessary to assure your majesty that I had none so great as for your service, and to see my lord treasurer so mortified at the necessity of quitting it, or being the ruin of that and himself together. Then I took the liberty to show, as well as I could, that it was really no hardship nor unkindness to Sir Charles Hedges; and I think I might have added, tho' I believe I did not, that your majesty, to carry on your government, must have men that neither herd with your enemies, nor that are in themselves insignificant. At last, I concluded, if I am not more mistaken than ever I was in my life, with these following words, that I did pray to God Almighty with as much earnestness as I should at my last day for the saving of my soul, that Mrs. and Mr. Morley might see their errors. This is the whole sense of the letter; and having had the honour to know your majesty when you had other thoughts of me than you are pleased to have now, and when you did think fit to take advice and information, I could not reasonably imagine that you should be offended at my earnest endeavours to serve you, and pray that you nor the prince might not be deceived. But finding that no proofs nor demonstrations of my faithfulness to your interest can make any thing agreeable to your majesty that comes from me, I will not enlarge upon this subject. I will only beg one piece of justice, and that I fancy you would not refuse to any body, if you believed it one, that you will show my lord treasurer the

letter of which your majesty has complained; and I wish from the bottom of my heart, that he, or any body that is faithful to you and the prince, could see every word that ever I writ to your majesty in my life.

Godolphin to *Duchess of Marlborough* (1706)

WINDSOR, SUNDAY.—According to your commands, I gave your letter to Mrs. Morley. As she was going to put it in her pocket, I told her that you had made me promise to beg of her to read it before I went out of the room. She did so, and then said she believed she had mistaken some words at the latter end of the former letter, which she seemed to think had a different sense from that which I had given her from you; but because you desired I might see it, she would look for it, and give it me, which she did, and desired me to return it to her to-day. I come now from giving it back into her hands, and I think I have convinced her that her complaint was grounded upon her having misapprehended the sense of your letter, by not reading it right, that is to say, by reading the word *notion* for *nation*. To explain this the more clearly to you, I send you a copy of the conclusion of your first letter to her, taken as far back as I thought was enough to show the plain sense and meaning of your letter. At the same time I must own that in your original letter, that word *notion* was not so distinctly written, but that one might naturally read it *nation*, if the sense of two or three lines together before did not fully explain your meaning. As to the main point, she has only told me that she had written a letter to me, as she said she would, to explain her difficulty, but she must write it out before she could give it me.

The *Queen* to *Duchess of Marlborough*

FRIDAY MORNING.—Since my dear Mrs. Freeman could imagine my not taking notice of her letter that was writ before she went to St. Alban's, proceeded from indifference or contempt, what will she think of my not answering her other in another week's time? But I do assure you it was neither of the reasons you mention that hindered me from writing, *nor no*

other, but the concern I have been in since the change of the secretary was proposed to me. I have obeyed your commands in showing your letter to my lord treasurer, and find my complaint was not without some ground, a mistake any body might make upon the first reading; for you had made an *a* instead of an *o*, which quite altered the word. I am very sensible all you say proceeds from the concern you have for my service, and it is impossible to be more mortified than I am, to see my lord treasurer in such uneasiness; and his leaving my service is a thought I cannot bear, and I hope in God he will put all such out of his own mind. Now that you are come hither again, I hope you will not go to Woodstock without giving me one look, for whatever hard thoughts you may have of me, I am sure I do not deserve them, and I will not be uneasy if you come to me; for though you are never so unkind, I will ever preserve a most sincere and tender passion for my dear Mrs. Freeman*.

Marlborough to *Godolphin* (1706)

Helchin, August 9.—What you say of both parties is so true, that I do, with all my soul, pity you. Care must be taken against the malice of the angry party; and notwithstanding their malicious affection of crying the church may be ruined by the Union, the Union must be supported; and I hope the reasonable men of the other party will not oppose the enlarging of the bottom, so that it may be able to support itself. . . . I had last night the honour of yours of the 13th, and am very glad to find that the commission has so unanimously agreed. I do with all my heart wish the parliament of both nations may do the same, so that her majesty may have the glory of finishing this great work, for which she will not only deserve to be blessed in this, but also in future ages.

* The Queen gave in and appointed Sunderland, see p. 250, below.

II. *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough* (by herself)

THE KING died, and the PRINCESS of Denmark took his place. This elevation of my miſtreſs to the throne brought me into a new ſcene of life, and into a new ſort of conſideration with all thoſe, whoſe attention, either by curioſity or ambition, was turned to politicks and the court. Hitherto my favour with her ROYAL HIGHNESS, though it had ſometimes furniſhed matter of converſation to the publick, had been of no moment to the affairs of the nation, ſhe herſelf having no ſhare in the councils, by which they were managed. But from this time, I began to be look'd upon as a perſon of conſequence, without whoſe approbation, at leaſt, neither places, nor penſions, nor honours were beſtowed by the crown. The intimate friendſhip, with which the QUEEN was known to honour me, afforded a plauſible foundation for this opinion: And I believe therefore, it will be a ſurprize to many, to be told, that the firſt important ſtep, which her MAJESTY took, after her acceſſion to the government, was againſt my wiſhes and inclination: I mean, *her throwing herſelf and her affairs almoſt entirely into the hands of the tories.*

I ſhall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the ſubject of my diſagreement with her MAJESTY about parties, that I may expoſe the injuſtice of thoſe whigs, who, after the great change in 1710, accuſed me of being the ruin of their cauſe; a cauſe, that, in her reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a fall, but for the zeal and diligence, with which I ſeiz'd every opportunity to raiſe and eſtabliſh it; which, in the end, proved the ruin of my favour with her MAJESTY.

The QUEEN had from her infancy imbibed the moſt unconquerable prejudices againſt the whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very ſhadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the church of England. This averſion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill uſage ſhe had met with from her ſiſter and king WILLIAM, which, though perhaps more owing to lord ROCHESTER than to any man then living, was now

to be all charged to the account of the whigs. And prince GEORGE, her huſband, who had alſo been ill treated, in that reign, threw into the ſcale his reſentments.

On the other hand, the tories had the advantage, not only of the QUEEN's early prepoſſeſſion in their favour, but of their having aſſiſted her in the late reign, in the affair of her *ſettlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in oppoſition to king WILLIAM, than from any real reſpect for the PRINCESS of Denmark. But ſtill they had ſerved her. And the winter before ſhe came to the crown, they had in the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition to the KING, and in proſpect of his death, paid her more than uſual civilities and attendance.

It is no great wonder therefore, all theſe things conſidered, that as ſoon as ſhe was ſeated in the throne, the tories (whom ſhe uſually called by the agreeable name of the church-party) became the diſtinguiſhed objects of the royal favour.

Dr. SHARP, archbiſhop of York, was pitched upon by herſelf to preach her coronation ſermon, and to be her chief counſellor in church-matters; and her privy-council was filled with tories. My lord NORMANBY (ſoon after duke of BUCKINGHAM) the earls of JERSEY and NOTTINGHAM, Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into place; Sir NATHAN WRIGHT was continued in poſſeſſion of the great ſeal of England, and the earl of ROCHESTER in the lieutenancy of Ireland. Theſe were men, who had all a wonderful zeal for the church; a ſort of public merit that eclipſed all other in the eyes of the QUEEN. And I am firmly perſuaded, that notwithſtanding her extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my lord MARLBOROUGH and my lord GODOLPHIN had for many years ſhown to her ſervice, they would not have had ſo great a ſhare of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the tories.

The truth is, though both theſe lords had always the real intereſt of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this, by their conduct in their ſeveral employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the perſuaſion, that the high-church party were the beſt friends to the conſtitution, both of church and ſtate; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience.

For my own part, I had not the ſame prepoſſeſſions. The *word CHURCH* had never any charm for *me*, in the mouths of thoſe, who made the moſt noiſe with it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other diſtinguiſhing proof of their regard for the *thing*, than a frequent uſe of the *word*, like a ſpell to enchant weak minds; and a perſecuting zeal againſt diſſenters, and againſt thoſe real friends of the church, who would not admit that *perſecution* was agreeable to its doctrine. And as to ſtate-affairs, many of theſe churchmen ſeemed to me, to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the laſt reign, to undermine that very government, which they had contributed to eſtabliſh.

I was heartily ſorry therefore, that, for the ſake of ſuch churchmen, others ſhould be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to ſupport the QUEEN, and promote the welfare of our country, than the wrong-headed politicians that ſucceeded them.

I reſolved therefore, from the very beginning of the QUEEN'S reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impreſſions in her mind more favourable to the whigs; and though my inſtances with her had not at firſt any conſiderable effect, I believe, I may venture to ſay, it was, in ſome meaſure, owing to them, that her MAJESTY did, againſt her own inclinations, continue ſeveral of this party in office. And it is well known, that when the QUEEN, in the firſt year of her reign, had determined to create four new peers, the lords GRANVILLE, GUERNSEY, GOWER and CONWAY, I prevailed that Mr. HERVEY (the preſent earl of Briſtol) might be a *fifth*, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the tories, and eſpecially of the *four* above-named; who for a while refuſed to accept of the peerage, if Mr. HERVEY, a whig, were admitted to the ſame honour.

But how difficult a taſk I preſcribed to myſelf, when I undertook to moderate her MAJESTY'S partiality to the tories, and to engage her to a better opinion of their oppoſites, will abundantly appear from the following letter, which I had the honour to receive from her, about half a year after her acceſſion to the throne.

St. James's, ſaturday the 24 *Oct^r.*

'I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs. FREEMAN's, that 'I was bleſt with yeſterday, that ſhe liked *my ſpeech*, but I can-'not help being extremely concern'd, you are ſo partial to the 'whigs, becauſe I would not have you, and your poor, un-'fortunate, faithful MORLEY differ in opinion in the leaſt 'thing. What I ſaid, when I writ laſt upon this ſubject, does 'not proceed from any inſinuations of the other party; but I 'know the principles of the church of England, and I know 'thoſe of the whigs, and it is that, and no other reaſon, which 'makes me think as I do, of the laſt. And upon my word, my 'dear Mrs. FREEMAN, you are mightily miſtaken in your 'notion of a true whig: For the character, you give of them, 'does not in the leaſt belong to them, but to the church. But 'I will ſay no more on this ſubject, only beg, for my poor ſake, 'that you would not ſhow more countenance to thoſe, you 'ſeem to have ſo much inclination for, than to the church 'party. Since you have ſtaid ſo long at Windſor, I wiſh now 'for your own ſake, that you would ſtay till after *my lord* '*mayor's day*; for if you are in town, *you can't avoid going to* '*the ſhow*, and being in the country is a juſt excuſe; and, 'I think, one would be glad of any to avoid ſo troubleſom a 'buſineſs. I am at this time in great haſte, and therefore can 'ſay no more to my dear dear Mrs. FREEMAN, but that I am 'moſt paſſionately her's.'

As my early zeal for the whigs is inconteſtably manifeſt from what her majeſty here ſays to me, ſo, I think, it will be no leſs evident to any one who reflects on my ſituation at that time, that this zeal could proceed from nothing but conviction of the goodneſs of the cauſe I eſpouſed.

For, as to private intereſt, the whigs could have done nothing for my advantage more than the tories. I needed not the aſſiſtance of either to ingratiate me with the QUEEN. She had both before and ſince her acceſſion, given the moſt unqueſtionable proofs, that ſhe conſidered me, not only as a moſt faithful ſervant, but as her dear friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme goodneſs to me ſince the breaking out of the quarrel between her ſiſter and her, that I might not interrupt

the relation of that matter in which my chief aim was the juſtification of my miſtreſs's conduct and my own upon that occaſion. Her letters to me afterwards (of which I have great numbers ſtill by me) were in the ſame ſtrain of tenderneſs as thoſe you have read; and upon her coming to the crown, ſhe had not only made me her groom of the ſtole, and keeper of the privy purſe, but had given the command of the army to my lord MARLBOROUGH, and the treaſurer's ſtaff to my lord GODOLPHIN, to whoſe ſon my eldeſt daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no motive of private intereſt to biaſs me to the whigs. Every body muſt ſee, that, had I conſulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the ſtream of my miſtreſs's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the ſureſt way to ſecure my favour with her.

* * * * * *

The QUEEN in her ſpeech had declared her reſolution to defend and maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed. Of *this* they tell her they have no doubt, after her repeated aſſurances. But *this* was not enough. So illuſtrious an ornament of the church muſt not content herſelf with protecting it in it's *legal* rights, but ſhe muſt contribute to reſtore it to it's *due* rights, that is, ſhe muſt reſtore tories and high-churchmen to their *divine* rights and privileges of poſſeſſing all the civil offices in the ſtate, and being the only men elected to ſerve in parliament, to the excluſion of all whigs and low-churchmen, who being enemies of the church, and having a will to deſtroy it, muſt be diveſted of the power to execute their malice.

That this was the meaning of the addreſs I believe no body doubts; and the *occaſional conformity bill*, which, in conſequence of this zeal for the church, was ſoon brought into parliament, did not aim at excluding from employments the *occaſional* conformiſts only, but all thoſe *conſtant* conformiſts too, who could not reliſh the high-church nonſenſe of promoting religion by perſecution. For as the tories were well acquainted with her MAJESTY'S entire devotion to the church, they deſigned this *bill*, as a *teſt*, whereby ſhe might certainly diſtinguiſh it's friends from it's foes; and they doubted not but

ſhe would reckon among the latter whoever ſhould oppoſe ſo religious a ſcheme.

The bill, as every body knows, was carried triumphantly through the houſe of commons; and the PRINCE of Denmark (though himſelf an occaſional conformiſt) was perſuaded to vote for it, in the houſe of lords. However it miſcarried there (I forget how) to the great diſappointment and mortification of the party. Nay it began to be ſuſpected that ſome of the chief men at court were not ſo zealous in the good cauſe as they ſhould be. My lord ROCHESTER was, I think, the firſt of the tory leaders that diſcovered a deep diſcontent with the QUEEN and her adminiſtration. Before the end of the year he reſigned the lieutenancy of Ireland in great wrath, upon her MAJESTY's being ſo unreaſonable as to preſs him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his preſence. For as the revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was neceſſary to call a parliament in order to another ſupply; and a parliament could not be held without a lord lieutenant. But when the QUEEN repreſented theſe things to him he told her with great inſolence, that *he would not go into* Ireland, *though ſhe would give the country to him and his ſon*; ſo that he ſeems to have accepted the poſt only that he might reign in Ireland by the miniſtry of his brother KEIGHTLEY, as he hoped to do in England, in perſon. Nor could he, after his reſignation, overcome his anger ſo far as to wait upon the QUEEN or to go to council; which ſhe obſerving ordered, after ſome time, that he ſhould no more be ſummoned, 'ſaying, it was not reaſonable my lord ROCHESTER 'ſhould come to council only when he pleaſed.'

Perhaps his lordſhip's unwillingneſs to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the church, and from his fears leſt it ſhould be betrayed in his abſence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good reaſon, that the true ſource of his diſſatisfaction was the QUEEN's not making him her ſole governor and director, and my lord GODOLPHIN's being preferred before him for the treaſury: Which, if true, affords a remarkable inſtance, how much ſelf-love and ſelf-conceit can blind even a man of ſenſe; for ſuch, by his party at leaſt, he was eſteemed to be. I don't wonder that he ſhould like power (it is what

moſt people are fond of) or that being related to the QUEEN he ſhould expect a particular conſideration. This was very natural and very reaſonable, if he had behaved himſelf to her as he ought: But when one conſiders, that his relation to her was by ſuch a ſort of accident, and that his conduct had been ſo very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing thing that he ſhould imagine, he was to domineer over the QUEEN and every body elſe, as he did over his own family.

Whether the church was in any danger or not *before*, it could not be queſtioned by any good churchman, but it *now* began to be in ſome peril when my lord ROCHESTER was no longer in place, nor in the council.

The bill againſt occaſional conformity was revived by the tories the next ſeſſions of parliament; which proceeding, whatever regard it might ſhow for the church, did certainly ſhow little reſpect or gratitude to the QUEEN, who had hitherto ſhowered her favours upon the party. For her MAJESTY having been informed, that this bill had alarmed a great part of her ſubjects, who were otherwiſe perfectly well affected to her government, and no leſs able than zealous to aſſiſt her in carrying on the war againſt the common enemy, had endeavoured in her ſpeech, by the warmeſt expreſſions, to diſſuade the parliament from this meaſure, as it might prove a ſource of fatal diviſions at home, where union and harmony were ſo neceſſary in order to the ſucceſs of our affairs abroad.

But the intereſt of the *church*, that is, of *high-churchmen*, was to be preferred before the intereſt of the QUEEN or of the nation, or the preſervation of the liberties of Europe. The bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an eaſy paſſage through the houſe of commons, it met with the ſame fate as the year before in the houſe of lords.

This new blow to the church was ſoon followed by another, the removal of lord JERSEY and Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR from their employments; and about the ſame time lord NOTTINGHAM reſigned his place of ſecretary of ſtate, becauſe the whigs were too much favoured.

The whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good reaſon. For when they ſaw that my lord MARLBOROUGH proſecuted the common cauſe with ſuch hearty diligence and

ſuch unexpected ſucceſs, they, notwithſtanding the partiality which had been ſhown to their oppoſites, univerſally forgot their reſentments, and no longer conſidering themſelves as an oppreſſed party, ran in with the loudeſt acclamations, extolling his merit and ſervices: And as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of thoſe, who eſpouſed the cauſe in which the miniſtry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my lord GODOLPHIN began to pay them as much regard as the times and the QUEEN's prejudices would permit him to do.

The church in the mean while, it muſt be confeſſed, was in a deplorable condition. The earls of ROCHESTER, JERSEY, and NOTTINGHAM, and Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR out of place, and the whigs coming into favour. It was reſolved therefore the next ſeſſions of parliament to tack the occaſional conformity bill to the money bill, a reſolution which ſhowed the ſpirit of the party in it's true light. But it happened that my lord MARLBOROUGH, in the ſummer before the parliament met, gained the battle of Blenheim. This was an unfortunate accident; and by the viſible diſſatisfaction of ſome people on the news of it, one would have imagined, that inſtead of beating the French, he had beat the church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable inſtance of true party ſpirit in the tories on this occaſion. My lord MARLBOROUGH, before he had had ſufficient opportunity of ſhowing the greatneſs of the general, had, for his firſt ſucceſſes in the war, been complimented by this very houſe of commons, as the *retriever of the glory of the Engliſh nation*, being then reputed a high churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate party, his *complete victory* at Blenheim was, in the addreſs of congratulation to the QUEEN, ridiculouſly paired with Sir GEORGE ROOK's *drawn battle* with the French at ſea.

However, neither the glory of this victory, nor the important conſequences of it, could be hid, even from the eyes of thoſe who would have been the moſt willing not to ſee them. The power of France was broken by it to a great degree, and the liberties and peace of Europe were in a fair way to be eſtabliſhed upon firm and laſting foundations. The leſs violent part of the tories therefore could not be prevailed with to

hazard theſe great and pleaſing hopes, by tacking them to the fortune of the *occaſional conformity bill*. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members, even of this houſe of commons, ſo rich in tories and high churchmen. And though the bill by itſelf was afterwards paſſed in that houſe, it was again thrown out by the lords.

The laſt great wound given to the church this year, was by the QUEEN's taking the privy ſeal from the duke of BUCKINGHAM.

And the next year I prevail'd with her MAJESTY to take the great ſeal from Sir NATHAN WRIGHT, a man deſpiſed by all parties, of no uſe to the crown, and whoſe weak and wretched conduct in the court of *chancery*, had almoſt brought his very office into contempt. His removal however was a great loſs to the church, for which he had ever been a warm ſtickler. And this loſs was the more ſenſibly felt, as his ſucceſſor, my lord COWPER, was not only of the whig-party, but of ſuch abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

But, what was worſe than all theſe miſfortunes, the majority of the houſe of commons in the new parliament of 1705, proved to be whig.

No wonder if, in theſe ſad circumſtances, a loud and piteous cry was raiſed upon the extreme danger of the poor church. A doleful piece, penn'd by ſome of the zealots of the party, and called *the memorial of the church of England*, was printed and ſpread abroad, ſetting forth her melancholy condition and diſtreſs; and much lamentation it occaſioned. But what remedy? There could be no hope of getting an *occaſional conformity bill* paſſed in this parliament. One expedient ſtill remained; and this was, to invite the princeſs SOPHIA of Hanover, the preſent KING's grandmother, to come over and defend the church. Her preſence here, though ſhe would not probably, as being a lutheran, be very zealous for a bill againſt occaſional conformiſts, yet might happily prove a means to hinder the whigs from bringing in popery and the pretender. A motion was therefore made in the houſe of lords for this invitation; and the neceſſity of it was urged with great ſtrength of argument by the earls of ROCHESTER and NOTTINGHAM, and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the

leaſt hope or the leaſt deſire to carry their point, but being well aſſured that the QUEEN would never conſent to ſuch an invitation, nor pardon her miniſters if they encouraged the deſign, this was a notable ſtratagem to ruin them, either with her MAJESTY, or with the nation; for if in compliance with her prejudices they oppoſed this motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the publick odium upon them, as declared enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

This hopeful ſcheme however did not ſucceed. The whigs oppoſed the invitation, and yet preſerved their credit, to the great mortification of the other party. I know that my lord GODOLPHIN, and other great men, were much reflected upon by ſome well diſpoſed perſons, for not laying hold of this opportunity, which the tories put into their hands, of more effectually ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover. But thoſe of the whigs, whoſe anger againſt the miniſter was raiſed on this account, little knew how impracticable the project of *invitation* was, and that the attempt would have only ſerved to make the QUEEN diſcard her miniſtry, to the ruin of the common cauſe of theſe kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had often tried her MAJESTY upon this ſubject; and when I found that ſhe would not hear of the immediate ſucceſſor's coming over, had preſſed her that ſhe would at leaſt invite hither the young PRINCE of Hanover, who was not to be her immediate ſucceſſor, and that ſhe would let him live here as her ſon: but her MAJESTY would liſten to no propoſal of this kind in any ſhape whatſoever.

VI

SCOTLAND. THE UNION

SECTION SIX

SCOTLAND. THE UNION

THE DOCUMENTS in this section will be easily intelligible if studied with the excellent account of the events leading to the Union in Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, vol. III, chap. III, pp. 75–153, or chap. V of Leadam's vol. IX of the *Political History of England* (Longman).

The first of the documents here printed is the account of the matter given by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, one of the Scots Commissioners for the Union Treaty, a moderate Whig and convinced supporter of the policy of the Union. The second document is from vol. I of the *Papers* of George Lockhart, a Jacobite and convinced opponent of the Union. The third document consists of the most important clauses from the Union Treaty itself, as printed in Defoe's *History of the Union*, where much other information on the subject will be found.

I. *Clerk's Memoirs*

(Roxburghe Club publication, 1895)

I have throuen togither some observations on this session [1703] of Parliament in another Manuscript book, so shall say little here. It was divided in 3 factions, who, as they had different views, drove different ways. The first was what was called the Court party; they were for supporting the Crown and the Credite of the High Commissioner, consequently they were for giving moderat subsidies for supporting the Government against the insults of the French, with whom we were, at that time, in war. They had the union of the two nations in view, because they not only considered it as the happiest thing that cou'd be brought about for the Interest of Great Britain, but because it was expressly recommended to them by the Queen. The second faction was that of the Jacobites; they were to thwart and disturb the Administration at any rate. The third faction was what went under the name of the Squadrone Volante. These consisted of about fifeteen Lords and Gentlemen, all Whigs in their principles, but who herded together, and keept little or no communication with the Duke of Queensberry and his Friends. They were for opposing every thing which they durst oppose, but to keep firmly in their view the succession of the Crown in the House of Hanover. They pretented to be great Patriots, and to stand up chiefly in defence of the rights and privileges of the subjects; in a word, the publick good and the liberty of the subjects were still in their mouths, but in their Hearts they were known to have Court preferments and places in the chiefest degree of veneration. These were the springs and motives of all their Actions, which appeared in a hundred instances thereafter. However, by the bye, I must say that such a Squadrone Volante in any Parliament seems to be always a happy means in the hand of Providence to keep the several members of an Administration in their duty, for people in great power seldom fail to take more upon them than falls to their share.

The chiefs of the Squadrone Lords were the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, the Earls of Rothess and Hadington,

all these young men of about 24 years of Age; but the chief of all, at least the man under whose name they principally voted, was the Marquise of Twedale, a very good Man, but not perfectly qualified for Court intrigues.

Amongst their Gentlemen was one Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, a Man of Republican principles, who had spent his youth in Holand, had been forfeited under the late King James, but afterwards restored under King William by Act of Parliament. He was a man a little untoward in his temper, and much inclined to Eloquence. He made many speeches in Parliament, which are all printed, but was not very dexterous in making extemporary replies. He was, however, a very Honest Man, and meant well in every thing he said and did, except in cases where his humure, passion, or prejudices were suffered to get the better of his reasone.

The above mentioned Factions rubb'd upon one another and with great severity, so that we were often in the form of a Polish diet, with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands at our swords. In all this struggle, therefore, there was no great good done, so that I am persuaded we had spent our time at home more to the benefite of the nation.

In this session, to silence the murmurs of some splenetick people, and those who were Ennemies to the last administration under King William, an Act past impowering certain Commissioners to enquire into the publick accompts and debts of the nation. I had the honour to be chosen one of them, I suppose by the Duke of Queensberry's recommendation. At this time, being in an humure of scribling, and debates rising very high about Limitations on the Crown to take place after her Majesty's decease, I took upon me to write two Pamphlets, one against diminishing the ancient prerogatives of the Crown, the other an Essay upon the intended Limitations. Both were well received by those of my own sentiments, others were pycked at them; but few ever discovered that I was the Author.

There was likeways a notable Act concerted this Session of parliament, intituled Act for Security of the Kingdom; but it was refused the Royal assent till the subsequent session of Parliament, of which hereafter.

By this Act all the people of Scotland were to be armed, and a provision made that on the event of the Queen's death the persone chosen in England to succeed her should not succeed to the Crown of Scotland, unless certain conditions should be granted by the English to the Scots, such as a free communication of Trade, and the Liberty of the Plantations, etc.

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This session of Parliament met on the 6 of July 1704, the Marquise of Twedale being her Majesty's High Commissioner. He, it seems, had undertaken great things, and particularly to get the succession to the Crown of Scotland setled on the House of Hanover, with an oath of abjuration enacted against the Pretender, the son of the late King James the 7th, who had taken upon him the stile and tittle of King of Great Britain, or if these projects cou'd not succeed in parliament, he was at least to please those Members of the last session of parliament who had carried on the above mentioned Act of Security.

By these projects, the Duke of Queensberry and his Friends were laid aside, for as the Hannoverian interest prevail'd greatly in the Court at London, there was a necessity to give them all manner of satisfaction who pushed for the immediat settlement of the aforesaid succession.

The Queen her self, and some few about her, particularly her prime ministers, the Earl of Godolphin and the Duke of Marlebrugh, were far from approving of the sd measure, for tho they saw that there was no real security for the Revolution or Whig interest without such a settlement, yet they wanted to have it done by means of an Union of the two Kingdoms.

In the progress of the session of parliament a trial was made to settle the above mentioned succession with a great many limitations on the Crown, such as that no Officers of State should be created without consent of parliament, and, in a word, that all powers of any consequence should be taken out of the hands of the sovereign, according to what had been done in the last session of parliament in relation to peace and war.

These projects cou'd not take effect, so that the Act of Security formerly concerted and agreed to was passed, and had the Royal Assent.

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But to return to the affaires before the Parliament of Scotland, the chief business was to pave the way for the Treaty of Union. An Act for this purpose was concerted with great difficulty, for the main opposition was not only from the Jacobites, but from a party of Whigs of about 16 in number, who had for their chiefs the Dukes of Montrose and Roxbrugh and the Marquise of Twedale. These, as before mentioned, went under the name of the Squadrone Volante, their business being sometimes to joyn the Court party, sometimes the Jacobite party, as was most for their Interest. The Duke of Hamiltone was the head of the Jacobites, and, indeed, a man every way fitted to be the Head of a popular discontented party. He was a man of courage, and had a great deal of natural Eloquence, with much affability in his temper.

The reasonings on the Act for the above Treaty turn'd chiefly on Limitations and conditions to be put on the Commissioners, but the chief opposition proceeded from this, that both those of the Squadrone Volante and of the Jacobite party knew that when the States of Parliament came to choose their Commissioners all of them wou'd be excluded; however, at last, to put an end to Disputes, it was agreed that the nomination of these Commissioners should be left to the Queen. This was a proposal of the Duke of Hamiltone, who from that piece of independence expected the Honour of being appointed by the Queen, but in this he was disappointed, for the Ministry in England and Scotland found, by former miscarriages in Treaties of Union, no good cou'd be expected from Commissioners who were not sincerely disposed to drop minute things for the sake of attaining what was principally in view, the good of both nations, and the settlement of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, in the meantime. I knew that this Duke was so unlucky in his privat circumstances that he wou'd have complied with any thing on a suitable encouragement. He was not only descended of the

Royal Family of the Stuarts, but under particular obligations to the Royal Brothers, King Charles and King James, however, he cou'd easily have been convinced that since the succession to the Crown of England had been for several years past, to wit, in the Regn of the late King William, setled on the Family of Hannover, it wou'd be next to madness to imagine that the Scots cou'd set up a seperat King, or force any King on England but the persone already chosen by that nation.

The nomination being left to the Queen to name Commissioners, she submitted this entirely to her Ministry, particularly to the Earl of Godolphin, her prime Minister, and to the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle.

I hapned, therfor, to be one of those appointed by these noble Dukes, tho' at that time very young for so great a Trust. What moved them chiefly in my favours was the pains I had taken in the Commissions for examining the publick accompts, by which I had a thorough acquaintance with all the Finances of Scotland, and the whole management of the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer of this Country, from the Revolution in 1688 down to the year 1706.

This choise, however honourable to me, was very far from giving me the least pleasure or satisfaction, for I had observed a great backwardness in the Parliament of Scotland for an union with England of any kind whatsoever, and therefor doubted not but, after a great deal of expense in attending a Treaty in England, I should be oblidged to return with the uneasy reflexion of having either done nothing, or nothing to the purpose, as had been the case of former Commissioners appointed for this end. I was, in short, upon the point of refusing the Honour conferred upon me, and the rather that my Father, whom I always considered as an Oracle seldom mistaken, seemed not to approve of it. However, as at last he grew passive, and that the Duke of Queensberry threatned to withdraw all friendship for me, I suffered my self to be prevailed upon, and to take journey for London with other Commissioners, and arrived there on the 13 of Aprile 1706.

I judge it needless for me here to narrate what was transacted by the Commissioners for both nations, every thing having been already published by the authority of the Parlia-

ments of Scotland and England; however, I shall take notice of a few things relating to this great Transaction.

The Commissioners of both nations met in different apartments in the Royal palace of Westminster, which commonly goes under the name of the Cockpit. There was one great Room where they all met when they were called upon to attend the Queen, or were to exchange papers, but they never met to hold conferences together except once, when the number of the Scotch Representatives for the two Houses of the British Parliament came to be debated, all their transactions were reduced in writings concerted in seperat apartments. When proposals or Conditions of the union were to be made by the English Commissioners, the Scots were desired to meet them in the great Room, and their proposals were given in by the L^d^ Chancellor, or the Keeper of the great seal, who was at that time the Lord Cooper, and when the Commissioners for Scotland had any thing to propose, or had answers to be made to the Commissioners of England, these were presented by the L^d^ Seafield, then Chancellor for Scotland.

Sometimes the Scots Commissioners met at the Houses of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, who were then the Earls of Mar and Loudon, the first a most famous Man at the head of the Rebellion in Scotland in the year 1715. He was then very forward for the union and the settlement of his succession in the Protestant family of Hannover, but towards the end of Queen's Ann's Reign, in 1713, was as forward for the dissolution of the union, and being on that account and other reasons hated by King George the first, he turn'd Jacobite and Rebel, after he had taken the usual oaths to the Government and used all the subterfuges and subtilities of a Courtier to ingratiat himself with the Hannoverian Ministry in 1714.

The first grand point debated by the Commissioners for Scotland amongst themselves was whether they should propose to the English a Federal union between the two nations, or an Incorporating union. The first was most favoured by the people of Scotland, but all the Scots Commissioners, to a Man, considered it rediculous and impracticable, for that in all the Federal unions there behoved to be a supreme power lodged

some where, and wherever this was lodged it hencefurth became the States General, or, in our way of speaking, the Parliament of Great Britain, under the same royal power and authority as the two nations are at present. And in things of the greatest consequence to the two nations, as in Councils relating to peace and war and subsidies, it was impossible that the Representatives or their suffrages in both nations cou'd be equal, but must be regulated in proportion to the power and richess of the several publick burdens or Taxations that cou'd affect them; in a word, the Scots Commissioners saw that no Union cou'd subsist between the two nations but an incorporating perpetual one. But after all the truble we gave ourselves to please the people of Scotland, we knew at the time that it was but losing our labour, for the English Commissioners were positively resolved to treat on no kind of union with us but what was to be incorporating and perpetual.

In the great Room above mentioned, was a long table, sufficient to hold all the Commissioners for both kingdoms, being about 50 feet in length. At the head of the Table, under a Canopy, was placed a large chaire, ornamented with gold lace and crimsone velvet, for the Queen, when she desired to come amongst us. On her left hand sat the Chancellor of Scotland, and on her right hand the keeper of the great seal, the L^{d} Cooper, afterwards Chancellor of England.

The Queen came amongst us three several times, once at our first or second meeting, to acquaint us of her intentions and ardent good wishes for our success and unanimity in this great Transaction. At about a month thereafter she came again to enquire of our success, and had most of our Minutes read to her; and for the last time to approve of what we had done. I endeavoured in all my conduct at this Treaty to acquit my self with the outmost duty to my Country, and for this end gave the greatest application possible to understand all the parts of the English Constitution, and particularly what related to their Debts and publick Taxes, to their Trade and all their Finances, comparing them with these of the people of Scotland, with which I was well acquainted, as having been for two full years a Commissioner of the public accompts in Scotland as above.

On these accounts, I was chosen by the Commissioners of Scotland for the Union to be one of four who were to conferr dayly with the like number of the English Commissioners in relation to the papers given in by both sides which were to be entered into our Minutes, for some of these papers needed some explications and alterations in order to be entered into these minutes agreeable to the sense of the respective Commissioners. I was likeways intrusted with another province by the Commissioners for Scotland, which was to review the Calculations made for the equivalent to be paid to Scotland for bearing their share of the Debt of England, which were afterwards to be considered as the Debts of Great Britain. These calculations were chiefly made by Doctor Gregory, professor of Mathematicks in the College of Oxford, and a certain great accomptant and projector, one Patersone, from Scotland, but bred in England from his infancy.

All this time I neglected not to cultivat that Friendship with the Duke of Queensberry, my Patron, which he had always shown me. I was frequently at Kensington with him, where the Queen keept her Court, and I twice saw her in her closet, to which the Duke was always admitted, being nominated Commissioner by her Majesty for representing her in the inseuing parliament of Scotland.

One day I had occasion to observe the Calamities which attend humane nature even in the greatest dignities of Life. Her majesty was labouring under a fit of the Gout, and in extream pain and agony, and on this occasion every thing about her was much in the same disorder as about the meanest of her subjects. Her face, which was red and spotted, was rendered something frightful by her negligent dress, and the foot affected was tied up with a pultis and some nasty bandages. I was much affected at this sight, and the more *when she had occasion to mention her people of Scotland*, which she did frequently to the Duke. What are you, poor mean like Mortal, thought I, who talks in the style of a Soveraign? Nature seems to be inverted when a poor infirm Woman becomes one of the Rulers of the World, but, as Tacitus observes, it is not the first time that Women have governed in Britain, and indeed they have sometimes done this to better purpose than the Men.

But to return to the Treaty of Union, the Articles were at last agreed to, sign'd, and sealed, by all the Commissioners, the 22 of July 1706. They were afterwards presented to the Queen at her palace of St. James, before a very numerous Assembley. The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England presented his copy to her Majesty, after making a handsome speech. That on the part of the Scots was presented by our Chancellor, Lord Seafield, whose speech excelled the other so far that it was spoken without Hesitation, whereas that of the L^{d} Keeper was miserably mangled in the delivery, and at last he was forced to draw it out of his pocket and read it. However, as he was a very eloquent man and a great Lawer, he was so conscious of his own merit that he never changed colloures at his accident, but first stopt a little, and then read his speech from a paper with great composure of mind, while all the Audience was in the outmost pain for him.

To these Speeches, and the Commissioners on both sides ranged on the Queen's right and left hand, her Majesty made a very handsome Return, with a very graceful pronountiation and tone of voice. After this great Transaction was brought to a conclusion the Commissioners on both sides left the Court, and I, with some of my country men, returned to Scotland. But before I left London I was advised to take my leave of the Queen which I did at Kensington. I was introduced to her by the Earl of Loudon, one of our Secretaries of State. She received me in her closet in the same homely way as before, for she had again fallen ill of the Gout. She spoke to me with great complacency, wished me a good journey, and in several warm expressions desired I might make it my business to recommend the Union to her people of Scotland.

I came down the Western Road and found my Father at Moffat. Here we had some Game on the moors for a few days, and at length I came to Edinburgh.

For the moneths of Septemb^{r} and October I staid for the most part with my Father at Pennicuik, always poring on Books, except sometimes when I followed my diversions of fouling and fishing.

The Duke of Queensberry having been appointed her

Majesty's Commissioner for the ensuing Parliament, he arrived in Scotland in November.

I need not narrate here what was done in this Parliament, there being a very exact History published of it by one Daniel Defoe, who was sent to Scotland by the prime minister of England, the Earl of Godolphin, on purpose to give a faithful account to him from time to time how every thing past here. He was therefor a Spy amongst us, but not known to be such, otherways the Mob of Edin. had pulled him to pieces.

The Commissioners, on their return to Scotland, fancied to themselves that as they had been doing great service to their Country in the matter of the Union, so they wou'd be acceptable to all ranks and degrees of people, but after the Articles of the Union were published by order of Parliament, such comments were made upon them, by those of the adverse party, that the Mob was almost universally set against them.

Under these hardships and misrepresentations the Articles of the Union were introduced into the Parliament of Scotland. The bulk of the nation seem'd altogether averse to them, nor indeed cou'd they expect a better usage, considering who they were who were determined at any rate to oppose them, for first there were a great many disoblidged Courtiers and self-conceited Men who cou'd relish nothing but what was of their own contrivance.

Next were a vast many of the Episcopal persuasion, who hated the Union meerly because of a first intention which many of the members of Parliament had of making the presbeterian Government and its security the basis of any Union between the two Nations, for tho there was no express Article concerted by the Commissioners of the Treaty to this effect, yet it had been commen'd upon, and agreed as the only Expedient to bring over the ministers of the church of Scotland, to give the Articles of the Union so much as a hearing; and, indeed, this was all they cou'd procure at first, for as the security of the church of England was to follow of consequence, many of the clergy of Scotland grew jealous of their neighbouring clergy, and endeavoured to instill notions in their Breatheren that such a security given to the church of England was contrary to the principles of their forefathers,

who had strenuously supported the Solemn League and Covenant.

Another set of Enemies to the Union were the Jacobites, and as these were very numerous even in the Parliament of Scotland, they cou'd not think of imbracing a system for the union of the two kingdoms wherein the succession to the Crown was to be settled on the House of Hannover, to the perpetual exclusion of all the successors of the late King James.

I do believe that the generality of the members of the Parliament of Scotland had been of the same mind, if it had consisted with reasone to delay the settlement of the succession of Scotland on the same family on whom the English, before the death of the late King William, had settled their crown, for to all thinking Men it appeared evident that sooner or later the Scots behoved to come into the same succession, or expect to see their Country a schen of bloodshed and confusion, for it was impossible for the Scots to make choise of a different king from the persone who was to succeed to the Crown of England, but this I need not truble my self to explain here.

From the above mentioned differences amongst the several parties in Scotland nothing was left to the Commissioners of the Union and to the Ministry of Scotland, than firmly to resolve amongst themselves how to act and leave the event to the providence of God.

Honour, Honesty, and a firm persuasion that they had been acting a faithful part for the interest of their Country, left no room to doubt what they were to do, and therefor they resolved to adhere to the Transaction they had made with the Commissioners of England, and leave it to Members of Parliament to act such a part as they thought best for the interest of their Country.

With these Resolutions the Duke of Queensberry proceeded, and 'tho some additions were made to the Articles of Union, particularly what related to the Settlement of the Presbyterian Government, yet after much debate and opposition these Articles were approven of that seem'd to be best understood, others suffered some alterations, particularly that

which related to the Excise, but in my opinion few or no alterations were made to the better.

I had discharged my duty in London, and so became entirely passive as to what should happen in the Parliament of Scotland; however, to vindicat the proceedings of the Commissioners as to things not well understood in Scotland, I wrote two pamphlets. One went under the Title of Some considerations on the Articles of the Union.

The other was for explaining the 15 Article in relation to the Equivalents to be paid to Scotland on account of subjecting ourselves to the payment of the debts of England [p. 238, below].

These pieces were known to be mine, but procured me no hatred from the other side who opposed the Union, and I had the thanks of those who were wellwishers to it.

Before the parliament ended I was chosen one of the 45 Members who were to represent Scotland in the first parliament of Great Britain. I had no hand in the honour conferred upon me, but the Duke of Queensberry insisted that I should be one on the List of those who were appointed, and as an incitement to me he offered me a place in one of his coaches to London, which I accepted of, and set out with his Grace on the 2^{d} of Aprile 1707.

A very splendid Retinue accompanied his Grace to Dunbar, but except my self, and a few of his own family in two coaches, he allowed no body the favour of waiting on him to Berwick. I wished that the case had been otherways, for then his country men wou'd have been Witnesses to a quite different Reception which his Grace had in all the Towns of England situated on or near the Road to London than what he had in Scotland.

In Berwick he was received with great pomp and solemnity, as he was likeways at Newcastle, Durham, and other cities, for amidst the joyful acclamations of all the people he was received by all the Magistrates of the cities where he past, and by all the nobility and gentry of the several counties, with the same if not greater Honours than I believe had been paid to the Queen her self.

He was complimented and feasted wherever he went, and when he came within 20 miles of London the whole city turn'd out to meet him.

At Hartfoord his Grace was attended by above twenty Members of the parliament of Scotland, who had taken post before him on purpose to make their Court to the Queen and the Ministry of England, but Her Majesty refused to see or hear any body, 'till the arrival of his Grace. At Barnet he was met by the Ministry of England and most of the nobility then attending the two Houses of Parliament. Their Retinue consisted of 46 coaches and above 1000 Horsemen.

When the Duke arrived at his House in London, the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin, at the head of all the Queen's Ministry, waited upon him, and that same night he waited on her Majesty, by whom he was received with high acknowledgements of his great services.

I staid with the Duke in London about 2 months, in which time the Commissions for managing the Equivalent appointed by the 15 Article of the Treaty of Union, with the Commissions for managing the Customs and Excise in Scotland were concerted. I might have been a Commissioner in any of the two last, but the Affaire of the Equivalent requiring persons of known fidelity, I was in some measure compelled to accept of it, not without a positive promise from the Duke that I should be afterwards better provided for.

On the 1 of May 1707 the Union of the two Nations, as had been agreed to, took place. That day was solemnized by her Majesty and those who had been members of both Houses of Parliament with the greatest splendour. A very numerous procession accompanied the Queen to the Cathedral church of St. Paul, at least 3 or 400 coaches. The Bishops and Peers sat in Galleries on her Majesty's right hand, and the late members of the House of Commons of England, with such as had been chosen to represent the Commons of Scotland in the first British Parliament, were on her left hand. I think there were not above half a dussan of the Scots commoners then in London, and amongst these I had the happiness to be present at this solemn piece of Devotion.

A sermon was preached by the Bishope of London, and prayers of Thanksgiving were very heartily put up for the success of the Union, at least no body on this occasion appeared more sincerely devout and thankfull than the Queen

her self. A fine piece of Musick closed the solemnity, and we return'd back to the Court at St. James's palace in the same order we came to the Cathedral.

On this occasion I observed a real joy and satisfaction in the Citizens of London, for they were terribly apprehensive of confusions from Scotland in case the Union had not taken place.

That whole day was spent in feastings, ringing of Bells, and illuminations, and I have reasone to believe that at no time Scotsmen were more acceptable to the English than on that day.

About the end of May I returned back to Scotland. Some time after this the equivalent stipulated to Scotland by the above mentioned 15 Article of the Union was sent down, viz. 398085 lib. 10 sh. ster. 100,000 lib. str. came in specie, and the rest in Exchequer Bills, which was lodged in the Castle of Edin.

The Commissioners appointed for manadging the same, according to the 15 and 16 Acts of the last session of the Parliament of Scotland, immediately began to make the proper distributions, and particularly to refound the capital stock of the Indian and African Company in Scotland, the rest of the publick debts of Scotland succeeded, so that in a few months most of the Equivalent money was disposed of.

The first Parliament of Great Britain was appointed by her Majesty to meet at Westminster in —— —— thereafter. Thither all those who had been chosen to represent Scotland repaired, and I amongst the rest should have gone, but was oblidged to attend at Edin. for 2 months longer, to exchange above 100,000 lib. in Exchequer Bills, which had fallen into a discount of 5 pr. cent. 3 other gentlemen were detained with me for the same purpose, being appointed by the Directors of the Bank of England to take in these Exchequer Bills and draw Bills on the sd Bank payable at sight.

This was an affaire of great trust, however it was manadged with the success that was necessary for the credite of the Bank. I carried up the retired notes with me to London in february 1708, and received the thanks of the Directors of the Bank.

I went up post, but near Anwick, the way being covered

with ice and snow, my Horse fell with me, by which I unfortunately brok my collar bone, however I recovered in a few days so as to be able to travel in a Coach, and got to London with much pain in two weeks.

I attended the House of Commons till the close of the session of Parliament in May, and observed with pleasure the Happy union that appeared between the Scotch and English members of parliament in both houses, happy presage of what I expected from the Union.

II. *Lockhart Papers*

Now we come to narrate what was done in relation to the Act of Treaty. The Earl of Mar, in the beginning of this session, had presented the draught of an Act, for appointing commissioners to treat with the commissioners from England, upon an union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, which lay upon the table till most of the overtures in relation to trade and the limitations were discussed; but these being now over, was reassumed. Both it and the English Act were much of the same nature, both empowering commissioners to meet and treat with one another of an union of the two kingdoms, and restricting them from treating of any alterations of the church-government and discipline, as established by law in the respective realms; only, as I said before, the English Act gave the nomination of their commissioners to the Queen, and even required the same of the Scots, without which they discharged their commissioners to meet and treat. But the draught presented by the Earl of Mar left the power of the nomination blank, and we shall see afterwards how that affair was managed. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, in a pathetick discourse, represented the scurrilous and haughty procedure of the English in this affair, and exhorted them to resent this treatment, as became Scotsmen, by throwing the motion of a treaty, until it were proposed in more civil and equal terms, out of the House, with indignation. But the House, rejecting the motion, called for the draught and the English Act, and both were read. The Cavaliers and Country parties, observing that there was a great inclination in the House to set a treaty

on foot, thought it improper to oppose it any longer in general terms: and therefore resolved to endeavour to clog the commission with such restrictions and provisions as should retard the treaty's taking effect; and for that end the Duke of Hamilton presented a clause to be added to the Act, in these terms: viz. "That the Union to be treated on should no ways "derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, "offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of this nation." This the Court vigorously opposed, seeing it secluded them from treating on an entire or incorporating Union; of which the abolishing of our Parliaments, and subversion of our Constitution, was a necessary consequence. And it was this kind of union England designed and desired; because it rivetted the Scots in perpetual slavery, depriving them of any legal method to redress themselves of the injuries they might receive from them, by keeping them poor and under their chains. On the other hand, the Duke of Queensberry, Earl of Stair, and all that were thoroughly on a Revolution foot, were inclined the same way, because they were conscious of their own guilt, and afraid, some time or other, a Scots Parliament (if reserved even under a federal Union) might take them to task, and punish them as they deserv'd; whereas if it were out of their power, and the Scots representation stifled and suppressed by the much greater majority of the English representation in one and the same Parliament, they expected to be protected against the just resentments of an injured and exasperated nation. For these and such reasons, I say, the Court opposed this clause, and the arguments they adduced for rejecting it were to this purpose: That since Scotland and England were under the same sovereign, who did here mediate betwixt her two kingdoms, and that England had given ample powers to their commissioners, it would be unbecoming in Scotland to restrict their commissioners, and inferred a jealousy of Her Majesty: that it might occasion a stop to the treaty, since it was to be believed that England would expect our commissioners should meet and confer with as full powers as theirs: and lastly, There could be no hazard in not restricting our commissioners, since it was expressly provided, that no matter or point treated of, and agreed to, should take place, and be of force, unless it be

first reported to, and obtain the aprobration of, the Parliaments of both kingdoms; and that when this report was made, then was the proper time to consider whether they would agree to that scheme of Union which the commissioners had projected, or reject it. To this it was answer'd, That Scotland and England's being under one sovereign was the reason why this clause was necessary, since woful experience taught us, and it had been often complained of in this house, that our sovereign was under English influence, and subject to the councils of her English ministers, who regarded the interest and honour of Scotland no farther than was consistent with that of England; that the adding of this clause could never infer the least mistrust of the Queen's inclinations towards her ancient kingdom, since all that could be made of it was, that the Scots Parliament, being sensible that the Queen was not in a capacity to know the interest and circumstances of Scotland so well as that of England, had taken care to prevent any inconveniencies that might arise from thence: that there were some things so sacred, that the least innovation or alteration, far less abrogating or suspending of them, was never to be tampered with, or the subject of any treaty; and the particulars of this clause, such as the sovereignty, independency, and freedom of the nation, being of this nature, ought to be added: and that England could not take it amiss, seeing they themselves had, before they advised with us, restricted their own commissioners from treating on any alteration of the church government of that kingdom. But whether that had been or not, we were a free, independent people, and had a power to give what instructions, powers, and restrictions we pleased to our commissioners; neither was it to be imagin'd, that England, upon the account of this clause, would refuse to treat, because the very same clause, in the same express words, was inserted in the Act of Treaty, in the reign of King James VI. and to the same purpose in most of the subsequent Acts of Treaty; and yet neither that King (who would have had good reason to be offended at any disrespect or distrust shown toward him, who was known by the Scots, acquainted with their humours and constitutions, and had given signal proofs of his affection to his native country and subjects) nor

his successors, nor the Parliament of England, made any scruple upon that account, to meet and treat with the commissioners of Scotland. These and many other arguments were adduced for and against this clause; and the question being put, "Add the clause or not," it carried in the negative by a plurality of two voices. And here I must observe and lament the woful fate of this nation; for though it was well known that the House was to be that day upon this grand affair, and the Court had mustered together every individual of their party; yet seven or eight of the Cavaliers and Country parties were absent, and thereby lost this clause, which, had it passed, would have proved a mortal stroke to the Court, they being resolved to have laid aside the Treaty of Union, and prorogued the Parliament; by which means the nation had been free of that fatal thraldom to which 'tis since subjected. Nor must I omit that the Earl of Aberdeen turned tail to the Cavaliers in this important affair: 'Tis not easy for me to determine the cause; but 'tis matter of fact, that His Lordship did not behave, on many occasions during this session, as might have been expected from one of his principles and circumstances, and (though this is not the proper place) could not be perswaded to be present at, and assisting against, the Union in the next sessions; nay, the Cavaliers at last, being informed of his inclinations towards it, were glad to compound with him to stay away.

This being over, another clause was presented in these terms: "Provided always, that the said commissioners shall "not go forth of this kingdom, to enter into any treaty with "those to be appointed for England, until there be an Act "passed by the Parliament of England, rescinding that clause "in the English Act, by which it is enacted, That the sub-"jects of Scotland shall be adjudged and taken as aliens after "the twenty-fifth of December 1705." The Cavaliers enlarged upon this clause, as necessary to vindicate the honour of the nation from the injustice of the English in that Act; believing, if it were added, the English would not comply with it, and so the treaty come to nothing. The Courtiers, upon the same grounds, opposed it; but observing it took with the House, they did not presume to do it openly, but by a conse-

quential motion to this purpose: That the clause should be approven, though not, as was proposed, be engrossed into the body of the Act for a treaty, but a resolve of the House pass, that after the foresaid Act is finished, the House will immediately proceed to consider whether the clause should be by a particular Act, or by an order of the House; and the question being stated, "Add the clause to the Act, or by a "separate way;" the latter branch carry'd it. And now the Court thought themselves secure of having a treaty; for if the clause was turned into an Act at the close of the session, (when they had no more to require of the Parliament at this time) they might grant the Royal assent to the Act of Treaty, and refuse it to this, as they should be directed from England: and in case the clause was turned into an order of the House, then they might dissolve the Parliament, (their lawyers assuring them that no orders of a Parliament were valid and in force after its dissolution) by which means the Act impowering commissioners to treat remained, and the order ceased, and so the Treaty might go on, whether the Parliament of England did or did not repeal the Act, which was so unjust in relation to Scotland, and notwithstanding the Parliament of Scotland did so expressly require it. But before the vote was stated upon the Act for a treaty, the Duke of Athol entered his protestation in these terms: "In regard that by an English "Act of Parliament, made in the last sessions thereof, en- "tituled An Act for the effectual securing England from the "dangers that may arise from several Acts past lately in Scot- "land, the subjects of this kingdom are adjudged aliens, born "out of the allegiance of the Queen, as Queen of England, "after the twenty-fifth day of December 1705, I do therefore "protest for my self, and in the name and behalf of all such "as shall adhere to this my protestation, that, for saving the "honour and interest of Her Majesty, as Queen of this king- "dom, and maintaining and preserving the undoubted rights "and privileges of her subjects, no Act for a treaty with "England ought to pass in this House, unless a clause be ad- "jected thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners "that may be nominated and appointed for carrying on the "said treaty, to depart the kingdom in order thereto, until

"the said Act be repealed and rescinded in the Parliament of "England." To which most of the Cavalier and Country parties, and all the Squadrone, (these last, as I observed before, being inclined to go along with every motion that they thought would obstruct the Treaty's taking effect at that time) did adhere, making in all twenty-four Peers, thirty-seven Barons, and eighteen Burrows.

While the rolls were calling upon this vote, (it being by this time late, and having been a long *sederunt*) many of the members, after they had given their votes, went out of the House, expecting the Parliament would not have proceeded to any more business that night; when, instantly after the last name in the roll was called, the Duke of Hamilton, addressing himself to the Chancellor, moved, that the nomination of the commissioners for the treaty should be left wholly to the Queen.

This, you may be sure, was very surprizing to the Cavaliers and Country party; 'twas what they did not expect would have been moved that night, and never at any time from His Grace, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament to this day, roared and exclaimed against it on all occasions; and about twelve or fifteen of them ran out of the house in rage and despair, saying aloud 'twas to no purpose to stay any longer, since the Duke of Hamilton had deserted and so basely betray'd them. However, those that remained opposed it with all their might, and a hot debate arose upon it, wherein the Cavaliers used the very arguments that the Duke of Hamilton had often insisted on upon this and the like occasions. "What! leave "the nomination to the Queen! No; she is, in a manner, a "prisoner in England; and the Estates of Scotland had taught "us our duty in a case nearly related to this, during the captivity "of King James I. Our Queen knew none of us, but as intro-"duced by her English ministry, and recommended by our "inclinations to serve that kingdom. Our Queen never had an "opportunity to know the true interest of our country; and "though she did, yet, as she was circumstantiated, could not "show her regard for it; and who then so proper to nominate "Scots commissioners to treat on Scots affairs, as a Scots Parlia-"ment?" The Court, and the Duke of Hamilton, (though he well enough saw these and many other speeches and motions,

such as, that no person that had any estate in England should be of the number of the commissioners, were levelled at him) made few or no answers to the arguments against the motion; but insisting that the sense of the House might be known upon it, a vote was stated at last in these terms: "Leave the nomina-"tion of the commissioners to the Queen, or to the Parliament:" And the former, by the unfortunate and unseasonable absence of the abovementioned twelve or fifteen members, did carry by a plurality of eight voices, of which His Grace the Duke of Hamilton had the honour to be one. Immediately after this was over, the whole Act impowering commissioners to meet and treat with England was voted and approven, the Duke of Athol having protested against it, in respect of the reasons contained in his former protestation, and being adhered to by twenty-one Noblemen, thirty-three Barons, and eighteen Burrows.

From this day may we date the commencement of Scotland's ruine; and any person that will be at the pains to reflect upon the management of this affair must be the more enraged, when he sees how easily it might have been, and yet was not prevented; for, if the first restricting clause (which was lost by the unaccountable neglect of some members) had been carried, we should not have had one word more of the Treaty; or had the nomination been left to the Parliament, (which was lost by the unreasonable humours of such members as left the house in a hurry) those of the commissioners that represented the Barons would have been so well chosen, that they might easily have obstructed the Treaty's being brought to such a conclusion as afterwards happened. For I may affirm, (it consisting with my certain knowledge) that the English, knowing the backwardness of the Scots nation to enter into an incorporating Union, would, if there had been but two or three members in the Scots commission that opposed it, been so far from pushing it as they did, that the treaty would have been advanced no further than those others that had been set on foot formerly.

But to consider the Duke of Hamilton's part in this affair a little more particularly: 'Tis true, some reports had been whisper'd about, from the beginning of the Parliament, that

His Grace's behaviour in this point would prove as it did, and many were uneasy at the great familiarity that appeared betwixt him and the Earl of Mar; but yet all were unwilling to believe any thing that was amiss of one who had stood so firm, and done such service to his country, especially in this point, whereupon he had so frequently, nay, not many days before it fell out, expressed and declared his opinion and resolution. But the following particular will make his conduct the more unaccountable: That very morning on which this affair was concluded, about forty or fifty of the Cavaliers being met together, had under consideration, whether it would be most proper to chuse the commissioners in a full House, or that every Estate should separate and chuse such as should represent themselves; and inclined to prefer the last, because they were sure to carry what Barons they pleased, but might run the hazard of losing all the other way. Yet such was their confidence in, and deference to, the Duke, that before they would determine themselves positively in it, they dispatched the Earl of Strathmore, George Lockhart of Carnwath, and George Home of Whitfield, to acquaint His Grace of what had passed amongst them, and desire his opinion: but His Grace being abroad when they came to wait upon him, the message was not communicated to him, till just as the Parliament sat down. Mr. Lockhart meeting him accidentally in the outer house, delivered his commission; to which he gave this answer: "Tell these gentlemen, 'twill be time enough for "us to consider on that affair; for it shall not be in this day." I never yet could hear of any reasonable excuse he made for this his behaviour. 'Tis true indeed, he endeavoured to vindicate himself, by alledging, that after the Parliament had rejected the several clauses that were proposed to be added to the Act, he thought it to no purpose to strive any longer; for since the Court would have had a majority to give the nomination to the Queen, he might be allowed to give her the compliment. And next, that he thought it better; because, if the commissioners that were named by the Queen did what was not approven of in the subsequent Parliament, we might better and more severely take them to task, than if we had named them ourselves. But, with His Grace's permission, this will

not stand the test; for, to consider the last part of the argument first, it cannot be admitted, that the leaving the nomination to the Queen was preferable to the Parliament's having it; because it was obvious and plain, that if the Queen had the nomination, she would take care to pitch upon such as would be very pliable, and do what was desired of them: and since it was as plain, that there was too great an inclination in the House to have a Treaty, and accept of an Union, there was the greater need to have some well-chosen persons upon it, that would be an awe-band over others, and represent matters fairly and fully, both at the Treaty, and in the subsequent Parliament; and next, His Grace had no reason to imagine that the Court was able to carry it to the Queen. For he knew that the absence of some of the Cavaliers was the only reason of losing the restricting clause, and that there were several others that voted all along with the Court formerly, would have left them upon this occasion; and consequently, if those members I spoke of had not deserted the House, the Cavaliers, instead of the Court, had carried the vote by eight voices; and then he might have been sure of having had all the Barons, such as were his friends, and would have been faithful and useful to the country. But I am afraid the true matter was, His Grace had a great mind to be one of the treaters himself; and, foreseeing he would not be named by the Parliament, he resolved to rely upon the Commissioner's and the Earl of Mar's promise, of his being named by the Queen, and therefore (whether by capitulation with these noble Lords, or merely a thought of his own, the better to recommend him to the Queen on this occasion, I shall not determine) took upon him to make the motion, that it might appear he had indeed made the compliment, and been the promoter and advancer of leaving the nomination to the Queen. And to confirm what I advance, let us remember, that we never heard of any other reason for the Duke of Argyle's not being named upon the Treaty, than his having represented to the Queen, that he had engaged upon his honour to bring the Duke of Hamilton to be upon the Treaty, or else that he would not be concerned in it himself: And the Queen refusing to name the Duke of Hamilton as he had promised, he resented it so far, that he

would not suffer himself to be named, and even threaten'd, at that time, to oppose the Union upon that account, though ways and means were fallen upon afterwards, to induce him to alter his mind. But to return back to His Grace's defences: Let us suppose them to be good; yet I would fain ask, whence he got that new light, and that so suddenly? and why did he not communicate the same to his friends, that, if they had been of the same mind, all might have gone on that way, and the compliment to the Queen been the greater? Little did he consider their differing this time encouraged the Court, and occasioned a thousand false reports, which did a great deal of harm, and, which was worst of all, was the foundation of that jealousy that, in some measure contributed much to the bad success that attended the country's affairs afterwards. I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because, as I said before, this fatal Act was the first successful step towards Scotland's chains; and all I shall add concerning it, is an old Scots proverb, "That sitting betwixt two chairs often occasions a fall;" which was the Duke of Hamilton's case at this time.

III. *Treaty of Union.* (*Extracts*)

...MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, Whereas Articles of Union were agreed on the twenty-ſecond day of July, in the fifth year of your Majeſties reign, by the Commiſſioners nominated on behalf of the kingdom of England, under your Majeſties Great Seal of England, bearing date at Weſtminſter the tenth day of April then laſt paſt, in purſuance of an Act of Parliament made in England, in the third year of your Majeſties reign; and the Commiſſioners nominated on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland, under your Majeſties Great Seal of Scotland, bearing date the twenty-ſeventh day of February, in the fourth year of your Majeſties reign, in purſuance of the fourth Act of the third ſeſſion of the preſent Parliament of Scotland, to treat of and concerning an Union of the ſaid kingdoms: and whereas an Act hath paſſed in the Parliament of Scotland, at Edinburgh, the ſixteenth day of January, in the fifth year of your Majeſties reign, wherein

'tis mentioned, that the Eſtates of Parliament, conſidering the ſaid Articles of Union of the two kingdoms, had agreed to and approved of the ſaid Articles of Union, with ſome additions and explanations; and that your Majeſty, with advice and conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, for eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant Religion, and Preſbyterian Church Government within the kingdom of Scotland, had paſſed in the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, an Act, intituled, "Act for ſecuring of the "Proteſtant Religion and Preſbyterian Church Government," which, by the tenor thereof, was appointed to be inſerted in an Act ratifying the Treaty, and expreſly declared to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the ſaid Treaty or Union in all times coming, the tenor of which Articles, as ratified and approved of, with additions and explanations, by the ſaid Act of Parliament of Scotland, follows:

Article 1. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhall, upon the firſt day of May, which ſhall be in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of GREAT-BRITAIN; and that the Enſigns Armorial of the ſaid United Kingdom be ſuch as her Majeſty ſhall appoint, and the Croſſes of St. George and St. Andrew be conjoined in ſuch manner as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all flaggs, banners, ſtandards, and enſigns, both at ſea and land.

Article 2. That the ſucceſſion to the Monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and of the dominions thereto belonging, after her moſt ſacred Majeſty, and in default of iſſue of her Majeſty, be, remain, and continue, to the moſt excellent Princeſs Sophia, Electoreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Proteſtants, upon whom the Crown of England is ſettled by an act of Parliament made in England, in the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majeſty King William the Third, intituled, "An act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better "ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject:" and that all Papiſts, and perſons marrying Papiſts, ſhall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part thereof; and, in every ſuch caſe, the

Crown and Government ſhall, from time to time, deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch perſon, being a Proteſtant, as ſhould have inherited and enjoyed the ſame, in caſe ſuch Papiſt, or perſon marrying a Papiſt, was naturally dead, according to proviſion for the deſcent of the Crown of England, made by another act of Parliament in England, in the firſt year of the reign of their late Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, intituled, "An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the "ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the Crown."

Article 3. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament, to be ſtyled "The Parliament of Great Britain."

Article 4. That all the ſubjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain ſhall, from and after the Union, have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to and from any port or place within the ſaid United Kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges and advantages, which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwiſe expreſly agreed in theſe Articles.

* * * * * *

Article 6. That all parts of the United Kingdom for ever, from and after the Union, ſhall have the ſame allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties on import and export; and that the allowances, encouragements and drawbacks, prohibitions, reſtrictions and regulations of trade, and the cuſtoms and duties on import and export, ſettled in England, when the Union commences, ſhall, from and after the Union, take place throughout the whole United Kingdom, excepting and reſerving the duties upon export and import of ſuch particular commodities from which any perſons, the ſubjects of either kingdom, are ſpecially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the Union, are to remain ſafe and intire to them, in all reſpects, as before the ſame; and that, from and after the Union, no Scots cattle carried into England ſhall

be liable to any other duties, either on the publick or private accounts, than thoſe duties to which the cattle of England are or ſhall be liable within the ſaid kingdom. . . .

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Article 9. That, whenſoever the ſum of one million nine hundred ninety-ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds, eight ſhillings and four-pence half-penny, ſhall be enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, to be raiſed in that part of the united kingdom now called England, on land, and other things uſually charged in acts of parliament there, for granting an aid to the Crown by a land tax, that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland ſhall be charged, by the ſame act, with a further ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds free of all charges, as the quota of Scotland to ſuch tax, and ſo proportionally for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England by any tax on land, and other things uſually charged together with the land; and that ſuch quota for Scotland, in the caſes aforeſaid, be raiſed and collected in the ſame manner as the ceſs now is in Scotland; but ſubject to ſuch regulations, in the manner of collecting, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain.

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Article 14. That the kingdom of Scotland be not charged with any other duties laid on by the Parliament of England before the Union, except thoſe conſented to in this treaty, in regard it is agreed, that all neceſſary proviſion ſhall be made by the Parliament of Scotland for the publick charge and ſervice of that kingdom, for the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven; provided, nevertheleſs, that, if the Parliament of England ſhall think fit to lay any further impoſitions, by way of cuſtoms, or ſuch exciſes, with which, by virtue of this treaty, Scotland is to be charged equally with England, in ſuch caſe, Scotland ſhall be liable to the ſame cuſtoms and exciſes, and have an equivalent to be ſettled by the Parliament of Great Britain; with this further proviſion, that any malt, to be made and conſumed in that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland, ſhall not be charged with any impoſition on malt during this preſent war. . . .

Article 15. That whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality of trade throughout the United Kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and exciſes now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England, contracted before the Union; it is agreed, that Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for what the ſubjects thereof ſhall be ſo charged towards payment of the ſaid debts of England in all particulars whatſoever, in manner following, viz. That, before the Union of the ſaid kingdoms, the ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings be granted to her Majeſty, by the Parliament of England, for the uſes after-mentioned, being the equivalent to be anſwered to Scotland, for ſuch parts of the ſaid cuſtoms and exciſes upon all exciſeable liquors, with which that kingdom is to be charged upon the Union, as will be applicable to the payment of the ſaid debts of England, according to the proportions which the preſent cuſtoms in Scotland, being thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*, do bear to the cuſtoms in England, computed at one million three hundred forty-one thouſand five hundred and fifty nine pounds *per annum*. . . .

. . . it is agreed, that in the firſt place, out of the foreſaid ſum, what conſideration ſhall be found neceſſary to be had for any loſſes which private perſons may ſuſtain, by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandart and value of the coin of England, may be made good: in the next place, that the capital ſtock or fund of the African and Indian Company of Scotland advanced, together with the intereſt for the ſaid capital ſtock after the rate of five *per cent. per annum*, from the reſpective times of the payment thereof, ſhall be payed; upon payment of which capital ſtock and intereſt, it is agreed the ſaid Company be diſſolved and ceaſe. . . .

. . . and as to the overplus of the ſaid ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings, . . .

. . . it is agreed, that the ſame be applied in manner following, viz. That all the publick debts of the kingdom of Scotland, as ſhall be adjuſted by this preſent Parliament, ſhall be payed; and that two thouſand pounds *per annum*, for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſhall be applied towards encouraging and promoting

the manufacture of coarſe wooll within thoſe ſhires which produce the wooll....

Article 16. That, from and after the Union, the coin ſhall be of the ſame ſtandart and value throughout the United Kingdom as now in England, and a mint ſhall be continued in Scotland under the ſame rules as the mint in England; and the preſent officers of the mint continued, ſubject to ſuch regulations and alterations as her Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, or the Parliament of Great Britain, ſhall think fit.

Article 17. That, from and after the Union, the ſame weights and meaſures ſhall be uſed throughout the United Kingdom, as are now eſtabliſhed in England; and ſtandarts of weights and meaſures ſhall be kept by thoſe burghs in Scotland, to whom the keeping the ſtandarts of weights and meaſures, now in uſe there, does of ſpecial right belong; all which ſtandarts ſhall be ſent down to ſuch reſpective burghs, from the ſtandarts kept in the Exchequer at Weſtminſter, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations as the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall think fit.

Article 18. That the laws concerning regulation of trade, cuſtoms, and ſuch exciſes, to which Scotland is, by virtue of this treaty, to be liable, be the ſame in Scotland, from and after the Union, as in England; and that all other laws, in uſe within the kingdom of Scotland, do, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in the ſame force as before (except ſuch as are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with this treaty), but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain, with this difference betwixt the laws concerning publick right, policy, and civil government, and thoſe which concern private right, that the laws which concern publick right, policy, and civil government, may be made the ſame throughout the whole United Kingdom, but that no alteration be made in laws which concern private right, except for evident utility of the ſubject within Scotland.

Article 19. That the Court of Seſſion, or College of Juſtice, do, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in all time coming within Scotland as it is now conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the ſame authority and privileges as before the Union, ſubject never-

theleſs to ſuch regulations, for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain. . . .

. . . And that the Court of Juſticiary do alſo, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain, in all time coming, within Scotland, as it is now conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the ſame authority and privileges as before the Union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain, and without prejudice of other rights of juſticiary. . . .

. . . And that all other courts, now in being within the kingdom of Scotland, do remain, but ſubject to alterations by the Parliament of Great Britain: And that all inferior courts within the ſaid limits do remain ſubordinate, as they are now, to the ſupreme courts of juſtice within the ſame, in all time coming; and that no cauſes in Scotland be cognoſcible by the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, or any other court in Weſtminſter-hall; and that the ſaid courts, or any other of the like nature, after the Union, ſhall have no power to cognoſce, review, or alter the acts or ſentences of the judicatures within Scotland, or ſtop the execution of the ſame; and that there be a Court of Exchequer in Scotland, after the Union, for deciding queſtions concerning the revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſes there, having the ſame power and authority in ſuch caſes as the Court of Exchequer has in England; and that the ſaid Court of Exchequer in Scotland have power of paſſing ſignatures, gifts, tutories, and in other things, as the Court of Exchequer at preſent in Scotland hath; and that the Court of Exchequer that now is in Scotland do remain, until a new Court of Exchequer be ſettled by the Parliament of Great Britain in Scotland after the Union: And that, after the Union, the Queen's Majeſty and her royal ſucceſſors may continue a Privy Council in Scotland, for preſerving of publick peace and order, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall think fit to alter it, or eſtabliſh any other effectual method for that end.

Article 20. That all heretable offices, ſuperiorities, heretable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, be reſerved to the owners thereof, as rights of property, in the ſame manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, notwithſtanding this Treaty.

Article 21. That the rights and privileges of the royal burghs in Scotland, as they now are, do remain entire after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

Article 22. That, by virtue of this Treaty, of the Peers of Scotland at the time of the Union, ſixteen ſhall be the number to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Lords, and forty-five the number of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain....

...And her Majeſty may, by her royal proclamation under the Great-ſeal of Great Britain, appoint the ſaid firſt Parliament of Great Britain to meet at ſuch time and place as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, which time ſhall not be leſs than fifty days after the date of ſuch proclamation; and the time and place of the meeting of ſuch Parliament being ſo appointed, a writ ſhall be immediately iſſued, under the Great-ſeal of Great Britain, directed to the Privy Council of Scotland, for the ſummoning the ſixteen Peers, and for electing forty-five Members, by whom Scotland is to be repreſented in the Parliament of Great Britain; and the Lords of Parliament of England, and the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, ſuch ſixteen Peers being ſummoned and returned in the manner agreed in this Treaty, and the Members of the Houſe of Commons of the ſaid Parliament of England, and the forty-five Members for Scotland, ſuch forty-five Members being elected and returned in the manner agreed in this Treaty, ſhall aſſemble and meet reſpectively in their reſpective Houſes of the Parliament of Great Britain, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be ſo appointed by her Majeſty, and ſhall be the two Houſes of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain; and that Parliament may continue for ſuch time only as the preſent Parliament of England might have continued, if the Union of the two kingdoms had not been made, unleſs ſooner diſſolved by her Majeſty. And that every one of the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and every Member of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the firſt and all ſucceeding Parliaments of Great Britain, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall otherways direct, ſhall take the reſpective oaths appointed to be taken, inſtead of the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, by an act of Parliament made in England, in the firſt year of

the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary, intituled, "An act for the abrogating of the oaths of Supremacy "and Allegiance, and appointing other oaths;" and make, ſubſcribe, and audibly repeat, the declaration mentioned in an act of Parliament made in England, in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, "An act "for the more effectual preſerving the King's perſon and "government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe "of Parliament;" and ſhall take and ſubſcribe the oath mentioned in an act of Parliament made in England, in the firſt year of her Majeſty's reign, intituled, "An act to declare the "alterations in the oath appointed to be taken by the act, in- "tituled, An act for the further ſecurity of his Majeſty's per- "ſon, and the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line, "and for extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended Prince of "Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and ſecret "abettors, and for declaring the Aſſociation to be determined;" at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as the members of both Houſes of Parliament of England are, by the ſaid reſpective acts, directed to take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſame, upon the penalties and diſabilities in the ſaid reſpective acts contained. And it is declared and agreed, that theſe words, "This realm, "the crown of this realm, and the Queen of this realm," mentioned in the oaths and declaration contained in the aforeſaid acts, which were intended to ſignify the crown and realm of England, ſhall be underſtood of the crown and realm of Great Britain; and that, in that ſenſe, the ſaid oaths and declaration be taken and ſubſcribed by the Members of both Houſes of the Parliament of Great Britain.

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Article 24. That, from and after the Union, there be one Great-ſeal for the United Kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall be different from the Great-ſeal now uſed in either kingdom; and that the quartering the arms, and the rank and precedency of the Lyon King of Arms of the kingdom of Scotland, as may beſt ſuit the Union, be left to her Majeſty....

Article 25. That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with, the terms

of theſe articles, or any one of them, ſhall, from and after the Union, ceaſe and become void, and ſhall be ſo declared to be by the reſpective Parliaments of the ſaid kingdoms, as by the ſaid Articles of Union ratified and approved by the ſaid act of Parliament of Scotland, relation thereunto being had, may appear; and the tenor of the aforeſaid act, for ſecuring the Proteſtant religion and Preſbyterian Church Government within the kingdom of Scotland, is as follows.

OUR SOVEREIGN LADY, and the Eſtates of Parliament, conſidering, that, by the late Act of Parliament for a Treaty with England, for an Union of both kingdoms, it is provided, that the Commiſſioners for that Treaty ſhould not treat of or concerning any alteration of the Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of the Church of this kingdom, as now by law eſtabliſhed, which Treaty being now reported to the Parliament, and it being reaſonable and neceſſary, that the true Proteſtant Religion, as preſently profeſſed within this kingdom, with the Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of this Church, ſhould be effectually and unalterably ſecured; therefore her Majeſty, with advice and conſent of the ſaid Eſtates of Parliament, doth hereby eſtabliſh and confirm the ſaid true Proteſtant Religion, and the Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of this Church, to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all ſucceeding generations; and more eſpecially, her Majeſty, with advice and conſent aforeſaid, ratifies, approves, and for ever confirms, the fifth Act of the firſt Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, "Act ratifying the Confeſſion of Faith, and "ſettling Preſbyterian Church Government," with all other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in proſecution of the declaration of the Eſtates of this kingdom, containing the claim of right, bearing date the eleventh of April, one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-nine; and her Majeſty, with advice and conſent aforeſaid, expreſly provides and declares, that the foreſaid true Proteſtant Religion, contained in the abovementioned Confeſſion of Faith, with the form and purity of Worſhip preſently in uſe within this Church, and its Preſbyterian Church Government and Diſcipline, that is to ſay, the Government of the Church by Kirk Seſſions, Preſbyteries,

Provincial Synods, and General Aſſemblies, all eſtabliſhed by the foreſaid Acts of Parliament, purſuant to the claim of right, ſhall remain and continue unalterable; and that the ſaid Preſbyterian Government ſhall be the only Government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland. And further, for the greater ſecurity of the foreſaid Proteſtant Religion, and of the Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of this Church as above eſtabliſhed, her Majeſty, with advice and conſent foreſaid, ſtatutes and ordains, that the Univerſities and Colleges of St. Andrew's, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, as now eſtabliſhed by law, ſhall continue within this kingdom for ever. And that, in all time coming, no Profeſſors, Principals, Regents, Maſters, or others, bearing office in any Univerſity, College or School, within this kingdom, be capable, or be admitted or allowed to continue in the exerciſe of their ſaid functions, but ſuch as ſhall own and acknowledge the Civil Government in manner preſcribed, or to be preſcribed by the Acts of Parliament. As alſo, that before, or at their admiſſions, they do and ſhall acknowledge and profeſs, and ſhall ſubſcribe to the foreſaid Confeſſion of Faith, as the Confeſſion of their Faith; and that they will practiſe and conform themſelves to the Worſhip preſently in uſe in this Church, and ſubmit themſelves to the Government and Diſcipline thereof, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or ſubverſion of the ſame; and that before the reſpective Preſbyteries of their bounds, by whatſoever gift, preſentation, or proviſion, they may be thereto provided. And further, her Majeſty, with advice aforeſaid, expreſly declares and ſtatutes, that none of the ſubjects of this kingdom ſhall be liable to, but all and every one of them for ever free of any oath, teſt, or ſubſcription, within this kingdom, contrary to, or inconſiſtent with, the foreſaid true Proteſtant Religion and Preſbyterian Church Government, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, as above eſtabliſhed; and that the ſame, within the bounds of this Church and Kingdom, ſhall never be impoſed upon, or required of them in any ſort. And, laſtly, that, after the deceaſe of her preſent Majeſty (whom God long preſerve!) the Sovereign ſucceeding to her in the Royal Government of the kingdom of Great-Britain ſhall, in all time coming, at his or her acceſſion to the

Crown, ſwear and ſubſcribe, that they ſhall inviolably maintain and preſerve the foreſaid Settlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, with the Government, Worſhip, Diſcipline, Right, and Privileges of this Church, as above eſtabliſhed by the laws of this kingdom, in proſecution of the claim of right. And it is hereby ſtatute and ordained, that this Act of Parliament, with the eſtabliſhment therein contained, ſhall be held and obſerved, in all times coming, as a fundamental and eſſential condition of any Treaty or Union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any ſort, for ever. As alſo, that this Act of Parliament, and Settlement therein contained, ſhall be inſert and repeated in any Act of Parliament that ſhall paſs, for agreeing and concluding the foreſaid Treaty or Union betwixt the two kingdoms; and that the ſame ſhall be therein expreſly declared to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the ſaid Treaty or Union, in all time coming....

AND WHEREAS an act hath paſſed in this preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act for ſecuring the "Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed," the tenor whereof follows,...

...whereas certain Commiſſioners appointed by her Majeſty, in purſuance of the ſaid act, and alſo other Commiſſioners, nominated by her Majeſty, by the authority of the Parliament of Scotland, have met and agreed upon a Treaty of Union of the ſaid kingdoms, which treaty is now under the conſideration of this preſent Parliament; and whereas the ſaid Treaty, with ſome alterations therein made, is ratified and approved by act of Parliament in Scotland, and the ſaid act of ratification is by her Majeſty's royal command laid before the Parliament of this kingdom; and whereas it is reaſonable and neceſſary that the true Proteſtant religion profeſſed and eſtabliſhed by law in the church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhould be effectually and unalterably ſecured; Be it enacted by the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that an act made in the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen

Elizabeth of famous memory, intituled, "An act for the "Miniſters of the Church to be of ſound religion;" and alſo another act made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late King Charles the ſecond, intituled, "An act for the uniformity "of publick prayers and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other "rites and ceremonies, and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, "ordaining, and conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, in "the Church of England" (other than ſuch clauſes in the ſaid acts, or either of them, as have been repealed or altered by any ſubſequent act or acts of Parliament), and all and ſingular other acts of Parliament now in force, for the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhall remain and be in full force for ever. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that after the demiſe of her Majeſty (whom God long preſerve!) the Sovereign next ſucceeding to her Majeſty in the royal government of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and ſo for ever hereafter every King or Queen ſucceeding and coming to the royal government of the kingdom of Great Britain, at his or her coronation, ſhall in the preſence of all perſons who ſhall be attending, aſſiſting, or otherways then and there preſent, take and ſubſcribe an oath to maintain and preſerve inviolably the ſaid ſettlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, as by law eſtabliſhed within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that this act, and all and every the matters and things therein contained, be, and ſhall for ever be, holden and adjudged to be a fundamental and eſſential part of any Treaty of Union to be concluded between the ſaid two kingdoms; and alſo that this act ſhall be inſerted in expreſs terms in any act of Parliament which ſhall be made for ſettling and ratifying any ſuch Treaty of Union, and ſhall be therein declared to be an eſſential and fundamental part thereof....

...Our Sovereign Lady conſidering that, by the twenty-ſecond article of the Treaty of Union, as the ſame is ratified by an act paſſed in this ſeſſion of Parliament, upon the ſixteenth

of January laſt, it is provided, that, by virtue of the ſaid Treaty, of the Peers of Scotland, at the time of the Union, ſixteen ſhall be the number to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Lords, and forty-five the number of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the Houſe of Commons, of the Parliament of Great Britain; and that the ſaid ſixteen Peers, and forty-five members in the Houſe of Commons, be named and choſen in ſuch manner as by a ſubſequent act in this preſent ſeſſion of Parliament in Scotland ſhould be ſettled; which act is thereby declared to be as valid, as if it were a part of, and ingroſſed in, the ſaid Treaty; therefore, her Majeſty, with advice and conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, ſtatutes, enacts, and ordains, that the ſaid ſixteen Peers, who ſhall have right to ſit in the houſe of Peers in the Parliament of Great Britain on the part of Scotland, by virtue of this Treaty, ſhall be named by the ſaid Peers of Scotland whom they repreſent, their heirs, or ſucceſſors to their dignities and honours, out of their own number, and that by open election and plurality of voices of the peers preſent, and of the proxies for ſuch as ſhall be abſent, the ſaid proxies being Peers, and producing a mandate in writing duly ſigned before witneſſes, and both the conſtituent and proxy being qualified according to law; declaring alſo, that ſuch peers as are abſent, being qualified as aforeſaid, may ſend to all ſuch meetings liſts of the Peers whom they judge fitteſt, validly ſigned by the ſaid abſent Peers, which ſhall be reckoned in the ſame manner as if the parties had been preſent, and given in the ſaid liſt: And in caſe of the death, or legal incapacity, of any of the ſaid ſixteen Peers, that the aforeſaid Peers of Scotland ſhall nominate another of their own number in place of the ſaid Peer or Peers in manner before and after mentioned. And that of the ſaid forty-five repreſentatives of Scotland in the Houſe of Commons in the Parliament of Great Britain, thirty ſhall be choſen by the ſhires or ſtewartries, and fifteen by the royal burrows, as follows, *videlicet*, one for every ſhire and ſtewartry, excepting the ſhires of Bute and Caithneſs, which ſhall chooſe one by turns, Bute having the firſt election; the ſhires of Nairn and Cromarty, which ſhall alſo chooſe by turns, Nairn having the firſt election; and in like manner the ſhires of Clackmannan and Kinroſs ſhall chooſe by turns,

Clackmannan having the firſt election: And in caſe of the death or legal incapacity of any of the ſaid members from the reſpective ſhires or ſtewartries above-mentioned, to ſit in the houſe of Commons; it is enacted and ordained, that the ſhire or ſtewartry who elected the ſaid member ſhall elect another member in his place. And that the ſaid fifteen repreſentatives for the royal burrows be choſen as follows, *videlicet*, That the town of Edinburgh ſhall have right to elect and ſend one member to the Parliament of Great Britain; and that each of the other burghs ſhall elect a Commiſſioner in the ſame manner as they are now in uſe to elect Commiſſioners to the Parliament of Scotland; which Commiſſioners and burghs (Edinburgh excepted), being divided in fourteen claſſes or diſtricts, ſhall meet at ſuch time and burghs within their reſpective diſtricts as her Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall appoint, and elect one for each diſtrict, *videlicet*, the burghs of Kirkwal, Week, Dornock, Dingwall and Tayne, one; the burghs of Fortroſe, Inverneſs, Nairn and Forreſs, one; the burghs of Elgine, Cullen, Banff, Inverury and Kintore, one; the burghs of Aberdeen, Inverbervie, Montroſe, Aberbrothock and Brichen, one; the burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Cowper and St. Andrews, one; the burghs of Crail, Kilrennie, Anſtruther Eaſter, Anſtruther Weſter, and Pittenweem, one; the burghs of Dyſart, Kirkcaldie, Kinghorn and Bruntiſland, one; the burghs of Innerkeithing, Dumfermline, Queensferry, Culroſs and Stirling, one; the burghs of Glaſgow, Renfrew, Ruglen and Dumbarton, one; the burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lawder and Jedburgh, one; the burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow and Lanerk, one; the burghs of Dumfreis, Sanquhar, Annan, Lochmaben and Kirkcudbright, one; the burghs of Wigtoun, New Galloway, Stranrawer and Whitehern, one; and the burghs of Air, Irvine, Rotheſay, Campbeltoun and Inverary, one. And it is hereby declared and ordained, that where the votes of the Commiſſioners for the ſaid burghs, met to chooſe repreſentatives from their ſeveral diſtricts to the Parliament of Great Britain, ſhall be equal, in that caſe the Preſident of the meeting ſhall have a caſting or deciſive vote, and that by and according to his vote as a Commiſſioner from the burgh from

which he is ſent, the Commiſſioner from the eldeſt burgh preſiding in the firſt meeting, and the Commiſſioners from the other burghs in their reſpective diſtricts preſiding afterwards by turns, in the order as the ſaid burghs are now called in the Rolls of the Parliament of Scotland. And that in caſe any of the ſaid fifteen Commiſſioners from burghs ſhall deceaſe, or become legally incapable to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, then the town of Edinburgh, or the diſtrict which choſe the ſaid member, ſhall elect a member in his or their place: It is always hereby expreſsly provided and declared, that none ſhall be capable to elect or be elected for any of the ſaid eſtates but ſuch as are twenty-one years of age compleat, and Proteſtant, excluding all Papiſts, or ſuch who, being ſuſpect of Popery and required, refuſe to ſwear and ſubſcribe the *formula* contained in the third act, made in the eighth and ninth ſeſſions of King William's Parliament, intituled, "Act for preventing the "growth of Popery;" and alſo declaring, that none ſhall be capable to elect or be elected to repreſent a ſhire or burgh in the Parliament of Great Britain for this part of the United Kingdom, except ſuch as are now capable by the laws of this kingdom to elect or be elected as Commiſſioners for ſhires or burghs to the Parliament of Scotland.

QUEEN ANNE'S PRINCIPAL MINISTERS

1702–7

Lord Treasurer	Sidney, Lord Godolphin.
Lord Chancellor	Sir Nathan Wright (High Tory), removed 1705; Sir William Cowper (Whig), Lord Keeper 1705; cr. Lord Cowper 1706; becomes Lord Chancellor May 1707.
Secretary of State (Northern Department)	Sir Charles Hedges; succeeded May 1704 by Robert Harley.
Secretary of State (Southern Department)	Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham (High Tory); succeeded May 1704 by Sir Charles Hedges from Northern Department; succeeded Dec. 1706 by Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (Whig).
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (High Tory); succeeded Feb. 1703 by Jas. Butler, Duke of Ormonde (High Tory); succeeded 1707 by Thos. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (Moderate Tory).
Lord High Admiral	Prince George of Denmark. Died Oct. 1708.
Secretary at War	William Blathwayt; succeeded 1704 by Henry St John.
Master General of Ordnance	John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

PARLIAMENTS OF ANNE'S REIGN

1. William's last Parliament, elected December 1701, Tory and Whig, strong for war, continued sitting on Anne's accession and took first Parliamentary steps of her reign. Dissolved in summer.

2. August 1702. Newly-elected Tory Parliament meets, and sits for three winters.

3. June 1705. New Parliament meets, Whig and Moderate Tory. Strong for the Ministerial war policy.

   In April 1707 this Parliament becomes first Parliament of Great Britain by addition of Scottish members.

4. 1708. Whig Parliament.

5. 1710. Tory Parliament.

6. 1713. Tory Parliament.

   [1715 George I. Whig Parliament.]

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Scotland. 1702-7.